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THE

DUTCH AT HOME.

ESSAYS FROM THE "REVUE DES DEUX MONDES."

88632

ALPHONSE ESQUIROS,

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TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

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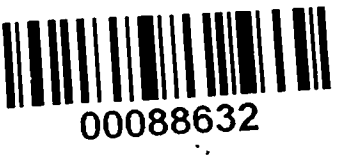
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
CHAPMAN AND HALL, 193, PICCADILLY.
MDCCCLXI.

[*English Copyright Edition.*]

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.



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THE

DUTCH AT HOME.

CHAPTER I.

PAUPERISM IN HOLLAND—THE SOCIETY OF PUBLIC UTILITY—ITS ESTABLISHMENT AND CONSTITUTION—PUBLIC EDUCATION—HONORARY REWARDS—EXCLUSION OF THE JEWS—THE WORKHOUSE AT AMSTERDAM—CHARITABLE COLONIES—THE WORKMAN'S SOCIETY AT THE HAGUE—ORPHAN SCHOOLS—THE CONSISTORY—THE BURGER-WEESHUIS—VAN SPEIJK—A CHARITABLE LADY.

THE Netherlands have but few public buildings, still the small number of those seen in the towns possess a truly national character, and are either establishments for orphans or asylums for old age. Simply carved figures generally surmount the chief entrance to these old and sacred buildings, while the Dutch style is displayed in the solidity of the main edifice, in the form of the windows, which are widely arched, and in the ornaments which are of a minute and familiar style. This alliance of art and public charity, shows sufficiently what deep root the feeling of benevolence has taken in Dutch

manners. Literature, that faithful expression of the tastes and inclinations of a race, has for its part embraced the poetry of good works. Artists and poets have thus only reproduced a feeling inherent in old Netherlandish civilisation, that of Christian solidarity.

It does not enter into our plan to draw up a balance-sheet of the works of charity performed in Holland; for it is a complicated network, whose delicate meshes are lost in the mysterious depths of social life. What we wish is, to indicate the peculiar features of this public beneficence, describe the useful establishments that do not exist elsewhere, and define the originality of the system that presides over the distribution of help. The dominant and distinctive character of Batavian charity is individual initiative; in France, the State is Lord High Almoner; in Holland, it holds aloof, or merely interposes in cases where religious and personal action withdraws. Not for a moment would we attack the system created in France by the revolution of 1789: we believe it excellent, and, in many respects, superior; but still it is not uninteresting to compare an opposite system with it, and seek in the contrast of facts the means to enlighten moral doctrines.

The system of charity practised in the Netherlands may be divided into two distinct branches, for this charity is either preventive or c ative.

Among the institutions intended to prevent misery, we will place those that undertake to instruct the necessitous classes, and supply them with work. Among the institutions whose object it is to relieve social sores, we will range the establishments for poor castaway children and old persons deprived of the means of existence. Between the two, there is doubtless a connecting link, but it is to a certain extent fortuitous and involuntary. If the system be found to be complete, and if Holland be one of those countries in which there is the least crushing wretchedness that escapes mutual assistance, it is because the action of private and intelligent charity is grafted on each want.

At the head of the institutions intended to combat pauperism by the diffusion of knowledge, and whose type would be sought in vain among civilised nations, stands the society of public utility—*Tot nut van't Algemeen.*

In 1784, John Nieuwenhuijzen, a Protestant minister at Moninkendam, said one day to his son Martin and a few friends, "I see learned men occupied in publishing large books, and making their names known among the educated classes; I see everywhere learned societies, and rich men beginning to intoxicate themselves with the luxury of renaissant literature and fine arts; then I see by their side a mass of unfortunate beings wallowing in ignorance; they cannot read and write;

and, if they could, they have no means to buy or comprehend the works of clever writers. Things cannot remain in this state. We must do something for their disinherited intellects." Nieuwenhuijzen and his friends were soon agreed as to the basis of the work to be accomplished. It was resolved that a society should be founded, intended to spread knowledge among the people, encourage morality, and give for the poorer classes information which would put them in a condition to better themselves. This idea bore its fruits. The society—founded in 1784 at Edam, a small town in North Holland, where the son of the minister Nieuwenhuijzen resided—spread in the course of time throughout the Netherlands, and it was soon found necessary to transfer the seat of the administration to Amsterdam. I visited at that city in a house adjoining the Museum, the head-quarters of an institution which has rendered incontestible services to Holland. The Society of the *Tot nut van't Algemeen* has become a power, though a thoroughly moral one; for, placed without the State and the official world, it is solely based on an idea, on the devotedness of its members, and a passion for doing good.

At the period of its foundation, the society was undivided; and the members, scattered over the country, met at certain periods of the year. The increase of the society led to the growth of the

existing constitution. It was agreed that in each town, each parish, where there were only eight persons desirous of joining the society, these members should form a section or department. Each of these groups had, and still has, the right of representation at the general assembly, which meets once a year at Amsterdam. The society at the present time is divided into 300 departments, containing in their lists 14,700 members. To this number must be added 500 honorary members, who do not pay contributions. Most of the men interesting themselves directly in the labours of the society belong to the middle classes, or retail tradespeople. Still the upper classes contribute with their purse : for such voluntary taxation is peculiar to the manners of the Dutch. There is no fortune of any consideration which does not tax itself by the sacrifices it makes. Heaven forbid that we should try to deprive these contributions of any of their merit ; but we are bound to say that self-interest, though of a very laudable and well-understood nature, is no stranger in the Netherlands to the development of mutual charity. As immorality is the daughter of darkness, it is believed in Holland that it is just and honourable for every one to join in the propagation of light, in proportion as he is menaced by the scourge. The man who possesses the most is consequently more obliged than another to guard his consideration

and fortune against the evil counsels of ignorance. The practical Dutch mind was not deceived in its calculations; and the criminal returns published annually are not nearly so heavy as in the Belgian provinces, where these tutelary institutions do not exist. The sacrifices public surveillance imposes on itself are moreover light, especially when compared with the nature of the results obtained. The amount subscribed by the members varies in each department, but the annual sum paid into the general exchequer rarely exceeds 2 fl. 50 cents per head. Calculating the sums the departments raise from their members for the maintenance of the local institutions, we find that the average contribution is 5 fl. 28 cents per head. This gives a capital of about 100,000 florins a year; and it is with this small sum that the society has undertaken to exercise a species of anonymous supervision of morality.

The history of the services rendered by the institution *Tot nut van't Algemeen* would be long and complicated; and we limit ourselves to a description of the principal ones. Primary instruction is to a great extent its handiwork. The law of 1806, which laid the foundation in Holland of public education, was drawn up with the assistance of the members of the central committee of the society. But it is not sufficient to pass laws; they must be also incarnated in practice. The

society lent government an active hand for the execution of all the useful projects; and its special mission was to clear the field of intellect. The excellent primary schools existing in Amsterdam and other cities of the Netherlands were modelled on the types the institution itself had furnished by opening schools for the poor at several places. Its initiative has extended to all charity infant schools; schools for workmen, preparatory schools, singing classes, and savings' banks, have, so to speak, emerged from the bosom of this invisible and yet ever-present power. The society undertakes the maintenance and administration of these establishments, up to the day when the state, the parish, or private individuals assume it on their own account. But the benefits of the society have spread over the people at large, as well as over infancy and adult age; it published small books within reach of all, in which the rudiments of society—morality, history, and economic well-being—are explained. It has also founded libraries, whence the workman can obtain information relating to his trade and social condition.

The director of the society is a man of talent and good sense. We asked him to what cause he attributed the rapid growth of the society. "The development and stability of the *Tot nut van't Algemeen*," he replied, "may, in the first place, be explained by its philanthropic object,

which essentially responds to the Dutch character. I also refer the success to the very remarkable constitution of this society; for you might search history in vain for a more perfect type of a republican organisation. The independence and autonomy of the departments is almost unlimited, in all that relates to their internal administration, and the choice of the most suitable means to attain the object proposed." Liberty in unity: such, in fact, is the character of the statutes which have hitherto formed the strength of this association. Each department is a circle of friends who meet from time to time to discuss the interests of the society generally, or those of the groups in particular. At certain periods of the year, solemn meetings are held, and we were present at one of them, which was at once a literary *soirée* and a distribution of rewards. The society of public utility fancied it saw a flaw in the civil law, which punishes crime without recompensing virtuous actions, and tries to cover it by evincing its gratitude for courageous or disinterested actions. The rewards consist either of an honorary diploma, a present of books, or a gold or silver medal. The members of the association make speeches, and in country places these meetings are family festivals, to which people go to instruct and amuse themselves at the same time. Sometimes a conjuring entertainment is given,

or a concert, at which the women and children are present, and constitute not the least attentive portion of the audience. The society does not disdain the employment of females, and to them are intrusted the management of the refuges, the instruction of girls, and those charitable works which require a delicate tact.

The *Tot nut van't Algemeen* Society is especially distinguished by its liberal tendencies. It rises above religious sects, whose different members it collects on the neutral ground of morality and charity. Such a universal direction of ideas has always prevented the development of this institution in the Belgian provinces. Before the Revolution, there were certainly a few departments there, but the clergy regarded their progress with a distrustful eye, and the efforts made by William I. to introduce the society into that portion of his states were almost sterile. This tolerance of the society was, however, contradicted not long ago, when the question was raised whether Jews should be admitted to membership. The matter was referred to the General Assembly, which, a few years previously, had negatived it. Those who pronounced for exclusion took their stand on one of the statutes, which declares that the society was formed for the encouragement of morality "in conformity with the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith." The Israelites reply to this, that morality

is not to be traced to any peculiar religion, and that the principles of the Old Testament, which is the source of their belief, do not differ from those of the Gospel. The discussion was stormy, and the admission of Jews was negatived by a small majority; but there is reason for believing that if it were brought up again, it would pass. Such, in fact, is the progress of opinion in Holland—slow, timid, but persistent. We must also mention that the Jews, some years ago, founded a society on the model of the *Tot nut van't Algemeen*, which prospers and does good service, though on a more limited scale. This division of strength is not the less to be regretted; hence it is the wish of enlightened Dutch moralists at the present time, for all religious sects to be blended, and be elevated by taking as their basis the love of humanity.

The *Tot nut van't Algemeen* Society gives a direction to public assistance, and in its shadow stand establishments which aid to check misery. The Dutch genius is opposed to theory; it does not discuss, but acts, and with it every good thought is a deed. On the bank of one of the numerous canals that divide Amsterdam into a number of islands connected by bridges, you may notice a large building of stern and imposing aspect. One of the interior façades of this edifice, looking north-east, has a frontispiece deco-

rated with thirteen symbolical figures, the work of the architect Ziesenis. The city of Amsterdam, represented by a female, protects with her right hand industry and activity; with her left she holds the quartered escutcheon of the old city, which she offers as a buckler against sloth, misery, debauchery, and extravagance. Between the shield and these figures stands a Hercules, menacing the vices with his club. This allegory in stone-work is rather cold, but at least it defines the purpose of the building. The "workhouse" offers an asylum to poor people temporarily without a roof or means of support, but they do not take up a permanent abode there. In order to be admitted, the inhabitants of the city have only to present a certificate obtained from the masters of their district, testifying to their necessitous condition. These indigents might certainly be sent to the "benevolent colonies;" but that would in the first place indefinitely increase the expenses of public assistance, and then it is feared that, by removing the poor from their relatives, they might be deprived of the means to re-establish themselves some day. On the contrary, so long as they stay in the city, they retain the prospect of a better fate and apply to their friends for work. The workhouse is a manufactory, in which weaving, spinning, and rope-making go on. The number of persons lodged, fed, and

supported by the establishment varies from one year to the other, and follows to a certain extent the fluctuations of society. Long winters, the dearness of food, and deficiency of work, have the general result of augmenting the population of the *Werkhuis*. From 1822 to 1845, this population was from 600 to 900 a year; since 1845, it has fluctuated between 1000 and 1200. Fathers and mothers of families enter it with their children, who receive their scholastic and religious education, the master and mistress of the schools being selected from the inmates. The maintenance of the institution costs on an average 90,000 florins per annum. This honourable undertaking would only merit praise, if the mixture of inmates did not destroy its object and character. The workhouse receives, in addition to those who seek there an asylum against the assaults of want, beggars, who have been sentenced and are awaiting removal to the colonies, persons who have been found guilty of breaking the regulations of the city, and prisoners for debt. This is an *ensemble* of facts which we feel surprised at seeing; for poverty is a misfortune, mendicity a fault. We ask ourselves whether it is in strict conformity with morality to confound such different conditions under the same roof and the same attire.

An institution of another nature, but equally

intended to supply work to labourers wanting it, exists at the Hague. A permanent council, composed of the deacons of all the religious communities, administers the general interests of the poor classes. The theatres pay at the Hague, as in France, a certain sum raised on the amusement of the rich; but this sum, instead of falling into the hands of the state, as is the case among ourselves, is paid into the general chest of the various religious communions. During the kermesse, the booths erected on the fair ground equally pay a tax, and the council of deacons receives these various contributions. Some fifteen years back, these gentlemen divided, in belief, but, connected by the bond of charity, hit on the idea of opening at the Hague a workshop for unemployed artizans. A committee was appointed with a view to this special work, and the nature of the labours to be undertaken was indicated by the local geography.

We have spoken elsewhere of the struggle Holland had to carry on against the water, but we have said nothing as yet of the efforts it employed to get rid of the sand. These two enemies demand equally energetic means of resistance. A great portion of the Hague has been rescued from the dunes. In the provinces of Drenthe and Over Yssel, the shifting sands collect in the peat-beds, and thus form hills, which would daily increase if

care was not taken to arrest their progress. The hand of man was required to restrain and repulse this deposit, which, borne by the winds, by the waves, or the sea, covered the country once again, choked cultivation, and frequently threatened to swallow it up. The Dutchman, however, was not satisfied with merely repulsing the scourge; but he has utilised the evil. This parasitic sand is an article of trade, and is removed either to fertilise certain clayey soils, or to be employed as ballast for ships.

The committee thought it would be wise to employ unoccupied arms in this conquest of the will over the soil. It asked the government for the dry hills on which moss, lichens, and heather grew; and they were readily granted. At the present day these places have changed their physiognomy; the hills have been lowered, or are still being lowered, every winter by the labourers. What was the bed of the sea is now a cultivated field; the sand driven by the wind, and piled up into a chain of dunes, is being levelled by the spade, converted into fields of potatoes or beet-root, and covered with a relative fertility by the help of manure. In this irregular ground, which at each step presents the image of man, the producer standing erect in chaos, skilful defences have been formed against wind and storm. Walls of sand, cut in the thickness of the partly destroyed

hills, protect the growth of the nascent vegetation. These clearings, undertaken by workmen whom the rigour of the season and the hard times temporarily throw out of employment, bear some resemblance to the national workshops created at Paris in 1848 by the provisional government, with this exception, that work really goes on in them. The national *atéliers* were an expedient ; but the cultivation of the dunes is an institution : 6132 florins, obtained by means of subscriptions, were thrown into this struggle with the nature and irregularity of the soil. The committee undertook a moral work, rather than an industrial one, and in that respect their views were not disappointed. During eight winters, more than one hundred families have been preserved from starvation. Artizans belonging to every trade — labourers, masons, painters, tailors, bootmakers — work on the dunes so long as they cannot find work in the city ; that is to say, for three or four months in the year. In truth, this branch must only be regarded as the last resource to which the workman attaches himself, when all other means are wanting to employ his arms. Each religious community supplies a number of workmen proportionate to its numerical importance, and they earn at the most 4 florins 20 cents a week.

Although the object of the committee was not a material speculation, we are glad to state that the

money has not been lost. An unproductive soil has been transformed into a useful field for the nourishment of man and beast. The crop of vegetables produced last year 4104 florins, or an average of 35 florins an acre. No encouragement would be too great for an institution which converts charity into wages, and which in hard times alleviates the wretchedness of the workman, without asking any sacrifice of human dignity.

Many other provident institutions exist in Holland, but nothing distinguishes them from those met with in other countries. We must, besides, allow that the preventive system of charity is weak, and is only first springing into life; but it is not the same with the system that helps persons on whom misfortune has fallen. Let us see, for instance, what public assistance does for orphan children. Two degrees may be established in the situation of orphans, according as they belong to the poor or the middle class ; and we will first inspect the asylums destined to receive children of the first class.

At the Hague, on a quay called the Spui, a large brick house, faced with stone, stands at the corner of a bridge, dipping its feet in the water. One of the faces of this old building, surmounted by a clock, surveys itself in the quiet mirror of the canal; and by its side, under the enormous windows, is a small low door—the entrance. Above this door is an escutcheon, supported by two lions,

sculptured in relief; beneath which the words may be read—*Diaconye oude wrouwen en kinder huys* (Deaconry Hospital for old women and children). This establishment, founded in 1659 by the gifts of the Dutch Protestant community, was originally intended to shelter orphans and women crushed by old age; but, at the present day, only the former remain. In paying our visit to this house, we will select the most interesting period of the day—evening. The street door opens on to a low gloomy hall, paved with blue tiles. A low passage, cold and damp as the cloisters of a cathedral, leads you to a court-yard, in which the children play during the day. This yard is surrounded by four buildings, with lofty windows. In the ground-floor rooms the classes assemble; they are large halls, paved with yellow bricks, like the causeway of the Hague, with two rows of desks and wooden benches. You may seek in vain on the walls for ornaments or pictures to repose the eye, for the Calvinistic austerity reigns here in all its orthodoxy.

The children are educated here until they attain the age of fourteen. A master and two under-masters are attached to the foundation, and the latter are sometimes selected from among the pupils. The sexes are mingled in the classes, but separated in all other exercises. The education is eminently practical and elementary, for the object proposed is not to turn out scientific men, but

workmen. By the side of the class-rooms are the work-rooms, where, by the light of dull candles, girls, seated on benches and arranged along tables, are engaged with their needles. Many persons in the town supply the establishment with materials to be made up. From time to time the monotony of their tasks is interrupted by singing. The orphans sew and knit for the establishment until eight in the evening, and for themselves from eight to nine, the money they thus earn being employed for their toilet. The house supplies them with an uniform costume, but they add to it a few ornaments which do not injure its character; a cap of finer stuff for Sunday wear, a white apron, a silk handkerchief for the neck, and, at times, even a gold brooch or ring. The ordinary clothes, such as are given by the establishment, are not without style. The orphans of the Hague Calvinist Deaconry wear a black woollen dress with short and tight sleeves; their arms are covered with long white mittens, and their shoulders with two neckerchiefs—one of calico, the other of muslin; a muslin cap, of a singular shape, completely conceals the hair. This dress is historic, and is the same we find in old portraits of the Flemish school. The boys do not work in the institution; but so soon as they have reached their fourteenth year, they are apprenticed to artizans in the town. They go in the morning to their work, and return to the

institution at night. On Sunday they wear brown cloth trousers and jacket, with leathern buttons, a white cravat, a round hat, and gloves. More than one mother sees them pass along the street with a look of envy, so respectable and clean do these children of public charity look.

A hall as bare as those we have already visited serves as the refectory, and it is interesting to watch the youngest pupils taking their supper together, which consists of a lump of black bread and milk. Standing up with downcast eyes these children return thanks to God for the frugal meal they have received. It is just on seven o'clock, and time for bed. A sleeping-room, feebly lighted by two lamps attached to the ceiling, shows us fifty beds arranged along the two sides of the apartment. The children sleep in couples: when they are in bed, a nurse, herself an orphan, maintains good order for some hours longer. It is a touching sight to see in the long and gloomy room this orphan, dressed in the garb of other days, reading by the light of a little candle a book we took for the Bible, and guarding the slumbers of her sisters sleeping under the eye of Him who is unseen. At nine o'clock the adults go to bed; the male orphans in one dormitory, the females in another, sing a psalm, and then say a prayer in a low voice. The silence—a silence peculiar to cloisters—then descends on this old house, at

whose foot a few retarded boats pass during the night.

The institution has a director, called the *Father*, and a directress, called the *Mother*. We must not, however, give the ordinary meaning to this title, for the Director of Charitable Institutions is subaltern in Holland, and over his authority stands that of the Deaconry. In order to understand the character of this special magistracy, we must go back to the religious organization of Holland. Batavian Protestantism is materially represented in each parish by a body called the Consistory, which, at the Hague, is composed of eleven pastors, eighteen elders, and twenty-two deacons. To the pastors the ministry is confided, the elders superintend the spiritual wants of the community, while the deacons undertake the administration of the patrimony of the poor. Of these twenty-two deacons, eight are nominated deacons of the orphan house, and six lady regents, chosen by the Consistory of the Protestant Church, are joined to them. We were present at one of the councils, held every Friday in one of the rooms of the house; the regents verify the accounts, order payments,—in a word, direct the whole administration and moral movement of the work. They are responsible for their actions to the Consistory, and, in addition, submit delicate questions to the General Assembly of deacons, who meet once in

three weeks. These duties are gratuitous, and only the personal staff of the establishment are paid.

Up to 1855, the Calvinist Deaconry received from the State a subsidy amounting to 1500*l.* a-year. It now refuses this aid, in order to be independent, and has no cause to regret its liberty, for the resources have increased since the directors refused the help of the State. The capital of the establishment is augmented from time to time by voluntary gifts and legacies, and its revenue is helped by collections made upon certain days in the churches. Every Sunday boxes are carried from house to house by the orphans; and the tradesmen who supply the institution and are paid monthly, also give a per-centage to the charity. By the help of these varied resources, the institution is enabled to support 378 children of both sexes. They are not all orphans: some have only lost father or mother; others again have their parents living, but they are incapable of supporting their family. When a fresh child is to be received into the house, the facts are investigated by a committee of inquiry, composed of the deacon of the district the child lives in, a regent, and the solicitor. This committee submits its report to a meeting of all the deacons, who decide as to admission. Each pupil costs the institution about 7*l.* 5*s.* per annum for food and clothing. The children, however, are

not all a burden to the diaconal administration; for there is a class of orphans admitted who are paid for by the town or individuals, at the rate of 8*l.* a-year each. The children the State adopts are those whose parents are not attached to any one of the religious communions of the Protestant Church.

The social machinery of the institution leads us to an examination of the object proposed. The pupils remain in the house up to their twentieth year, when a certain sum of money and clothes are given them, and they are restored to society. One half of this sum is given at leaving, the other a year later. Those pupils who have learned a trade, place themselves in the world as they best can; the lads become workmen, the girls servants or washerwomen. Some instances are quoted of individuals who, thanks to their abilities, have attained excellent positions: an ex-pupil of the house is now captain in the Indian Army, another an architect at the Hague; but these instances are rare, for the organization of the institution prohibits a liberal career being opened to the pupils. Institutions of a similar character exist in other Dutch towns, but we have no need to describe them.

We will now remove the scene of our observations, and proceed to the Amsterdam institution for middle class orphans, the Burger-Weeshuis. You enter it by two gates, possessing some archi-

tectural pretensions; one looking on the Kalverstraat, the other on St. Lucy Street. The first entrance is surmounted by two statues, representing a male and female orphan in the costume worn at the present day. Above them the arms of the City of Amsterdam figure majestically. The directors' room, or Regenten Kammer, is adorned by a few pictures, which are not without merit, and among them you may notice the portraits of old female regents. You stop by preference before the portrait of the foundress, Dame Heasje Klaas. Formerly this house was a convent, but it has changed its appearance with its destination; life and the movement of charity have succeeded the useless and gloomy solitude. Here all the children, to the number of 471, are really orphans—that is to say, without father or mother; and in order to be admitted, their fathers must have been citizens of Amsterdam.* The

* This title is given to persons who have been domiciled in the city, and performed the duties of public life as member of the Town Guard (*schutter*), alderman of a ward (*vykmeester*), or fireman (*brandmeester*). In Amsterdam, the fire brigade does not form a distinct arm, but all the inhabitants are called upon to extinguish fires. There is another Refuge (*Diakedie-Weeshuis*) for orphans of the poor classes, situated on the banks of the Amstel. You may see there two capital pictures, one representing the orphans at dinner, the other their attire at the moment of their arrival in the institution. I also saw the model of a small vessel, which is a souvenir of an orphan who

children received into the house belong to all the Protestant communions, and it is managed by lay directors and directresses. What we like the least is the dress; for orphans of both sexes are dressed half in black, half in red. We were told that this uniform facilitates measures of external discipline; publicans, for instance, have orders not to harbour young persons wearing this dress. We greatly approve these regulations, but ask ourselves whether it would not be possible to attain the same object without clothing the orphans in a singular livery, which attracts too much attention to their misfortune? Although the education they receive in the house stops at the first stage, some pupils, whose names the institution has preserved, have been distinguished in the sciences and the public service. The most celebrated of these is Van Speijk, and the institution is full of reminiscences of him. A picture represents the last exploit of his life, which rendered him so dear to the Dutch; some terrified men are looking through a window of the magazine at the young lieutenant at the moment when he is applying the match to the barrels of gunpowder. You are struck with admiration, not at the sight of the

made his fortune in the Indies, and left all his property to the Deaconry. This institution contains 363 boys and 389 girls.

picture, which is a bad one, but at that of the action, which is sublime.

All these foundations, meritorious though they are, are surpassed by those due to the solicitude of Baroness de Reede de Renswoude. In Holland you find a woman's name connected with the origin of nearly all the charitable institutions. This lady, who had no children, left in her will all her large fortune to orphans. I have seen her portrait, which bears an air of grace and kindness. But the living traits of her work are especially visible at the Hague, Delft, and Utrecht. She desired that in these cities a selection should be made among the orphans of tradesmen, and that those most distinguished for ability should receive a careful education. The will which bears the date of 1749, states, that these young chosen vessels are to be brought up according to their ability for the liberal arts, or as physicians and surgeons. To carry out her wishes, a second institution, which bears the name of the foundress, was created in the house, known as the Burger Weeshuis, built in 1564. Several engineers and distinguished surgeons have been formed in this school. At Utrecht, I visited a succursal of the same work, which is a true monument of benevolence. Several remarkable people were turned out by this house, among whom must be mentioned Josi, the engraver, who has

published a catalogue *raisonné* of Rembrandt's works.

In Dutch cities, you generally see above the doorway of houses administered by the Deaconries a Bible carved in stone, and this association of ideas is not at all fortuitous. Pagan society paid but little attention to the condition of children abandoned by, or deprived of, their natural supporters. The Jehovah of the Old Testament is the first who called himself, with a species of pride, "the God of orphans," and the poesy of Christian charity itself issued from the words of the Gospel, "Suffer little children to come unto me." This poesy passed with the Reformation into the manners of the Dutch, and the orphan here takes part in all public ceremonies. I saw at Amsterdam the foundations laid of a monument intended to perpetuate the memory of the national enthusiasm, which, in 1831, sent the army of Dutch volunteers against insurrectionary Belgium. The honour of laying the first stone was confided to fatherless and motherless children, as if Holland desired to sanctify her history by the hand of the unfortunate.

By the side of children left in the world to the mercy of accident, there are also those disfigured by nature, who would be a burden to themselves and to society, if the hand of public charity, allied with that of science, did not draw

them from their nothingness. In this respect Holland has equally organized a system of help which honours the character and mind of the population.

CHAPTER II.

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE BLIND—THE FREEMASONS—ORIGIN OF BLINDNESS—FATALISM—INSTRUCTION IN READING—THE SENSE OF TOUCH—CALCULATIONS—EFFECT OF EXTERNAL OBJECTS—MUSIC—CHARACTER OF THE BLIND—THE ASYLUM—THE DEAF AND DUMB—THE GRONINGEN SYSTEM—MODE OF INSTRUCTION—THE GERMAN SYSTEM—THE NEW SCHOOL AT ROTTERDAM.

In the heart of Amsterdam there is a house devoted to the education of the youthful blind, *Instituut tot onderwejs van Blinden.* The history of this institution goes back to the first years of the nineteenth century, when a Swede, a disciple of Valentine Haüy, happened to be in the capital of the Netherlands. He induced a Dutchman, member of one of the Amsterdam Masonic lodges, to naturalize in the Netherlands one of the creations of French philosophy. This friend mentioned the subject in his lodge, and it was approved, and a small blind school was opened in 1808. The number of pupils was at first three, then four, and then five. The work, though under such imperfect and paltry conditions, prospered nevertheless, and

it was recognised that the blind were beings capable of being instructed. The institution, thereupon, increased; and the Masonic societies interested themselves more and more in a foundation which was their own work. When we now compare this humble origin with the present state of the institution, we are struck with the rapid success it has obtained. In proportion as it increased, the School for the Young Blind slipped from the hands of the Freemasons, and it ceased to be the work of a secret society to become a national work. At the present day the institution, free from all influences, independent of the State, receiving no subsidy either from government or the city, lives on its resources and governs itself by its own lights. The direction is composed of six persons, selected by the subscribers, but three of them must still be members of a Masonic lodge. This is a homage of gratitude the institution thus pays to its old founders, and, as it were, a *souvenir* of its cradle. There must also be one or two physicians in the council. The moral responsibility of the work devolves on the six directors, and by this time we are well enough acquainted with the Dutch character to guess that these duties are performed gratuitously: one of the directors, a member of the first chamber, said to me, "From the day when these duties were paid, no persons of consideration would be found

here to undertake them." At the outset a house was hired, but in 1825 one was bought. This house, built by an old merchant of Amsterdam, tells us of the manners and wealth of the grand times of the Republic. The exterior is at once simple and grand, the interior breathes an atmosphere of luxury; the passages are paved with white marble, and the ceilings ornamented with carvings of the same material. This house, though so suitable, no longer suffices for the wants of the institution, which are incessantly extending.

Like all natural scourges, blindness has a preference for attacking persons of the lower rank. This fact, fully established by statistics, has given rise to an interesting question, whether blindness be a congenital or acquired infirmity? Are people born blind, or do they become so? At the present day this question is solved: of a hundred cases of blindness, there are perhaps ninety-nine in which the wretched people who do not see, become blind a few days after birth. The expression "born blind," which has passed into colloquial and even into scientific language, is therefore most generally based on an old erroneous opinion. According to the new method of interpreting facts, nature, as a general rule, should not be accused—but the ignorance of families, want of care, and certain local prejudices and customs, reproved by the laws of Hygiene. In some villages

of the Netherlands, where the inhabitants still resist the benefits of vaccination, small-pox causes many cases of blindness. This resistance is unfortunately grafted on a false religious idea, on the fatalist dogma of predestination. "If our children," the unenlightened parents say, "are to have the disease, they will have it in spite of us: it is the will of God."

The system presiding over the instruction of the blind at Amsterdam is peculiarly eclectic. The director, properly so called, a man really remarkable in his speciality, makes frequent journeys in order to examine and apply the various methods existing in foreign countries. If the establishment excludes nothing that appears good, it has for all that a character of its own. Nothing is neglected thus to develop in the blind the senses that may supply the absence of sight. I met on the stairs children who guided themselves very well, and regained their places with facility. Some of them do not even require to stretch out their hands to touch the obstacles that may be in their way; they only need to analyze the impression which the approach of a foreign body produces on the face, and especially the forehead. The blind man can thus calculate the resistance of the air comprised between any object and his own person. There are in the institution two gymnastic schools, in which you see not without surprise the blind pass

from one rope to another, and perform the most complicated exercises.

The moral education is no less cared for than the physical; and the secret of this method consists in placing the vision at the end of the blind man's fingers. Instruction in reading is carried on by three stages: in the first, copper type set in woodwork, is used; after that gutta-percha letters are employed; and lastly, books printed in large projecting characters are called in. It is interesting to see the young blind, those lucid somnambulists of the art, recognising by the touch the figures of the symbols of thought. By means of these exercises, the blind child learns to read as quickly as one that sees, and I was enabled to convince myself of the truth of this statement. A girl, who entered the establishment on December 2, 1854, read currently in April, 1855. Another pupil born at Java, of Indian race, experienced a natural obstacle; his skin, which was thicker than that of children in our climes, interrupted to a certain extent the delicacy of the sensations: if we may use the expression, his sense of touch was short-sighted. In spite of this cause of relative inferiority, he learned to read in four months. On the other hand, in some individuals of European origin a delicacy of sensation is met with, which it is found necessary to moderate. Every object of a nature to wear out or alter the sensibility of the

epidermis must be kept from the blind man's fingers, and in such cases the hands are covered with very thin leather gloves, just as too sensitive eyes are protected against the action of the sun by certain glasses. The digital eye is formed by exercise; and after placing the children in a situation to receive the thoughts of others, they are taught to express their own thoughts by signs. There are four systems of writing for the blind, which are all practised in succession by the Amsterdam pupils. It is unnecessary to describe the more or less ingenious apparatus by which children deprived of sight fix characters on paper. We need merely observe that the blind have at their service two modes of writing, one being private and employed to correspond with each other, while the characters of the other do not differ from our ordinary writing. The first manner offers some points of resemblance with the cuneiform character. The letters are represented in it by projecting dots resembling nail heads, the number and position of these dots varying as many times as the signs of the alphabet. Is every human infirmity, in some respects, a return to the rudimentary forms of civilisation?

Nearly all the acquirements that form the basis of education can be learned by the blind, the only condition being to render them accessible to him by means of the touch. He is taught to construct

geometrical figures by the help of a copper wire bent on a wooden instrument. The faculty of calculation is generally greatly developed, especially among the blind from Friesland. They do not need to put the figures down on paper; their brain is a sort of blackboard on which they trace the fugitive symbols of numbers. I remember a girl who was talking to herself, and whose face expressed enthusiastic delight; she was engaged in solving a most difficult problem, a multiplication of twenty figures by twenty. These exercises while adorning the mind have also the merit of abstracting the blind from a feeling of their infirmity. What beings deprived of sight hate most, is the night rest. They are also taught the elements of natural history; but the blind person has a difficulty in forming an idea of the progressiveness of forms, and the relative bulk of living beings, and the errors of the imagination, must be incessantly rectified by the testimony of the senses that have remained intact. The touch, hearing and smell, fortunately gain in lucidity what the visual organ has lost. In their walks through the town or across the fields, the blind often contrive to form a correct notion of the shape of localities; the rustling of a stream arrests them, and plunges them into a species of ravishment. The girls are also very curious to hear the song of the birds, and inhale, as an old Dutch poet says, the good thoughts

of the earth in a flower. On their way the slightest details strike the blind walkers; the food, the spices, the produce of every land piled up in the Amsterdam storehouses especially fix their attention. These powerful exotic odours are to them as a revelation of another world; they inhale from them India, Africa, and Australia. It might be supposed most difficult to impart to the blind a knowledge of the world, but they really possess that knowledge. I assured myself of this by seeing the pupils of the institution indicate on a map prepared for their use the position of cities, the course of rivers, and the frontiers of States.* The whole configuration of the globe is thus touched by them: at each question they travelled over the map with their fingers, and gave replies that indicated very sure geographical notions.

The art that best suits beings deprived of sight, and for which they seem to have been formed by nature, is music. In the Amsterdam Institution there are three singing divisions, and the pupils

* These maps were sent to the Paris Exposition of 1855, where, we dare say, they attracted but slight attention. They are ordinary maps, mounted on card-board, and cut in relief. The cities are indicated by pins, with large rough metal heads, the smaller towns by common pins, the chains of mountains by pins with black glass heads. The lakes and rivers are hollowed out: the parallels and meridians are expressed by threads of simple copper, and the frontiers of States by two twisted copper threads.

also learn to play the piano and organ. They execute concerted pieces in public with considerable harmony and taste. Among the pieces sung, we noticed the choruses of *Athalie*, translated into German. Music is to them not only an ornament, and a diversion from the silence of darkness, but it is also, in more than one instance, a profession, and the only lucrative one a blind man can carry on. Old pupils of the Institution are at the present day organists in churches, and professors of music. There are also blind composers; but if the being deprived of sight finds in the delicacy of his ear and docility of voice a species of compensation for his misfortune, it does not follow that the ideas of the art are more accessible to him than to other men. Musical genius is as rare among the blind as among the seeing.

Several physiological questions are attached to blindness; there is one especially I was anxious to solve by an examination of facts. Do the blind form an idea of vision? We must, in the first place, distinguish between those in whom sight is extinct, and those who have retained a certain connecting link with the light. There are many degrees in the infirmity, and each of them corresponds to a different manner of appreciating the action of daylight. Even among those who no longer see, there are many who formerly saw, and to whom, by reviving certain reminiscences, it is

not difficult to give a notion, more or less obscure, of colours. If we now put aside these semi-blind, and descend into the depths of that eternal night which characterises blindness properly so called, we shall find that perception is wanting with the sense, and with it too the ideas attached to it. If the contrary opinion has sometimes prevailed, it is because persons have not taken sufficiently into account the means by which the blind man, from time to time, deludes himself as to the character of his pretended clairvoyance. The blind man has certainly a manner of seeing, but this manner has no relations with the functions our eyes perform for us. The pupils of the institution distinguish in the court-yard two parts of different colours; they denote two pieces of cloth of opposing hues; they notice when furniture has been removed from a room, and they bow to persons belonging to the house whom they meet on the stairs, while calling them by name. The truth is, that they only appreciate these details by the degree of heat the painted wood borrows from the sunbeams, by the smell of the cloth, by the more or less sonorous echo of the voice, and the measure and cadence of the step.

The principal traits in the character of the blind are—will it be credited?—presumption and obstinacy; the most perfect thing about them is pride. Their confidence is only gained with difficulty, and

a moment suffices to lose it. They will endure being told of their faults and being sharply reproved, but they will not allow themselves to be deceived. The basis of their judgment is a species of positivism ; they have but little faith, and only yield to evidence. Their tenacious reason resists supernatural things and mysteries, and in all cases they cling to reality. As a great portion of the instruction is oral, they frequently ask questions that embarrass the best educated man. It will be seen from these general features, that the blind person is a difficult being to manage, and the teacher must be the eye of those who do not see ; hence, he requires a great deal of tact, prudence, and solicitude, to direct these distrustful and suspicious natures.

At the outset, an institution was only founded for blind children ; but philanthropists speedily perceived that they had only fulfilled one half of their task. The blind man is naturally an independent being ; he resists the conventionalisms and serfdom of the social condition, and a free and adventurous life pleases him. Hence several of these unhappy beings, when they left the house, lost themselves in the world, and often fell from a state of vagabondage into one of mendicancy. In 1844, an asylum for the blind was, therefore, opened, and there the best idea can be formed of their life. The blind man, in spite of his spirit of

independence, is a methodical being ; order, and a regular division of time and actions form the basis of his character. In this night without a dawn, he feels the need of an occupied existence, and hence he enjoys the more the amusements permitted to his condition, life in the open air and communion with nature. He may be heard saying with great unction, "Oh! how fine the weather is to-day! how the sun shines!" The clouds, the sea, all the phenomena of the outer world, which the blind appreciate in their way, affect them with a gentle and melancholy charm. Hence they possess an order of mysterious enjoyment which other men cannot comprehend.

The finger which to the blind man is the organ of vision, is to the deaf and dumb an organ of speech. This second infirmity could not be neglected by the enlightened solicitude of the Dutch, and there is at Groningen a celebrated institution, founded on the system of the Abbé de l'Epée. This house stands at one of the ends of the town, concealed in summer by the foliage of the aged trees that surround it. The façade, with its narrow windows cut in the brickwork, has a serious character, befitting the abode of study and silence. This institution receives pupils of both sexes, one wing being reserved for the girls, the other for boys—though the two sexes are brought together in the classes. This reunion is a general principle

in Holland, where it is considered profitable to the development of intelligence. In other countries where an absolute separation exists, it has been observed, that deaf and dumb girls were generally inferior by two years to the boys; but here, on the contrary, the results vary and balance each other. One year it is the boys, the next the girls who distinguish themselves; but on the average they are of equal force. The institution contains 150 pupils, divided into four classes, and they remain from eight to nine years in it. I also visited a gymnasium, and the workshops where the pupils of both sexes receive a professional training, crowned by a religious education. All faiths have a right of admission to the institution; the Catholics and Protestants live under the same régime, but the Jews are kept separate. This separation is only intended to facilitate the performance of certain rites and customs, and it is noticed that the Israelite deaf and dumb are not the least intelligent.

Another institution for the deaf and dumb, younger and less known, is at Rotterdam, and is based on the German system, though it deserves to bear another name in Holland. More than a century ago, a Dutchman of the name of Amman, laid the basis of a method for teaching speech to the deaf and dumb. Taking as his starting point the Hebrew alphabet, which he believed to be the

foundation of all other alphabets, he undertook to fix by figures the movements of the tongue, or what may be termed the configuration of sound. This art of daguerreotyping words was for a while driven out of the field by the success of the mimetic language, but it is now being taken up again. In 1853, a meeting was held at Rotterdam, at which the moral regeneration of the deaf and dumb, by teaching articulated language, was warmly, discussed, and in the same year a school was opened. The mechanical instruction in speech must be begun at a very early age, for the imitative instinct which is so strong in children contributes to overcome the difficulties the organ of the voice meets with in the deaf and dumb. This organ is intact, but it remains torpid, as it is neither directed or warned by the ear. In order to stimulate it, the eyes of the deaf and dumb are habituated to read, and to a certain extent hear the word on the lips; if we may employ the phrase, they are led to touch with the hands the movements of the voice in the throat; and the means of articulation enchained by the privation of hearing are developed by incessant practice. This artificial language grows so familiar to some pupils, and becomes in them so thoroughly a state of second nature, that they will even articulate in their sleep. The speaking deaf gradually lose their habit of gesticulating, and the trouble they

take to watch the movement of the lips, drags them out of that state of torpor, which is characteristic of the infirmity. The eye being in them the recipient and conductor of sound, they even take an interest in the accents of a strange language, which traces for them on the lips fugitive and undecipherable hieroglyphics. Of the two methods represented in Holland by two different institutions, each possesses its defenders; but it is unmistakeable, that the deaf and dumb display much more taste and affinity for the language of signs, than for the mechanical language.

CHAPTER III.

INTERFERENCE OF THE STATE—OPPOSITION OF THE CLERGY—TOLLENS THE POET—THE SONG OF A WINTER NIGHT—THE MARINE HOSPITAL—PASTOR BEETS—THE STORY OF OLD KEES — JACOB CATS — ZORGVLIET — CHARACTER OF DUTCH POETRY — THE PEASANT'S BIBLE — CONNECTION BETWEEN CHARITY AND THE NATIONAL LIFE — EXTENT OF DUTCH BENEVOLENCE.

A FINAL group of institutions has for its object the relief of adults and the aged. The different religions recognised by the State, and the sects into which they are split and form separate churches, undertake the maintenance of their poor. It must be conceded that abuses have more than once glided into this administration, which possesses no unity; and hence a few years back, Mr. Thorbecke, while Minister, wished to introduce some regularity into the system of good works, though without attacking the fundamental principle of Dutch charity. It appeared to him that the State should be called on to exercise a control over the acts of the religious communities; but his proposed bill encountered a lively oppo-

sition. All the clerical administrations opposed the reform, and the bill was shipwrecked shortly after, along with the Ministry, in a storm aroused by the religious party. Any attack on the monopoly of the churches in the matter of benevolence is regarded in the Netherlands as an assault on liberty, and a revolutionary act. Such a word possesses nothing very terrifying in France, who owes so much to the Revolution of 1789; but in those countries where this revolution only appeared in the shape of conquest, and where it was almost immediately hidden by the violence of despotism, facts are differently regarded. Encroachments of the State—no matter what their nature may be—are considered so many menaces to the rights of the citizens.

The worship of material interests, which for the two last centuries has stifled poetry and art in the Netherlands, has not cooled charity; but it fears restrictions, and is a plant which insists on growing freely. When governed, it pines, and dies: and the prospect of substituting taxation for voluntary gifts cannot be regarded without alarm. Any legal intervention, it is asserted, would only tend to dry up the living sources of public beneficence. In order that these sources should flow abundantly, and misfortunes be relieved, all that is needed is to leave them alone. The States-General, therefore, introduced a mixed system, which per-

petuates the predominance of the religious and individual element over the civil, but also admits the intervention of the State. We have said very little about the action of government in the distribution of aid; and though its hand may be hidden here more than elsewhere, it must not be concluded that it is utterly held back. In Holland there is no absolute system: the civil element intervenes in the hospitals, savings-banks, schools, and charitable societies. When the treasury of any of the churches is exhausted, the poor man applies to his parish, which regards it as a duty to help him.

The climate itself induces to the development of charity. It is only in northern countries that we can thoroughly understand the purport of the familiar adage, "a man without fire or roof." In the happy regions of the south, a man, however denuded he may be, has always above his head the star-studded vault of Heaven: he warms himself in the sun, and is, as it were, clothed in light as in a garment. If he complain, it is about being confined within four walls. Under such conditions, we can understand enthusiastical mendicants, but we cannot conceive them among the peoples of cold countries. Among the latter, home is a necessity of existence; and there results from this a feeling of gentle compassion for those who have no place where to lay their

head. This delicate sentiment has been expressed by Tollens, one of the most popular poets of Holland;—I allude to a set of verses, entitled "The Song of a Winter Night."

This little poem is, at the same time, a faithful picture of manners. The wind is blowing sharp and dry, the cold is rude, the trees are whiter than the whitest down, and the river is as hard as lead. The poet, who finds himself so well protected against the rigor of the climate, thanks heaven: with wood and coal, he defies the cold. He invites his wife to shake off her sorrow. "Here we have," he says to her, "warm punch, wine that smiles in the glass, and a roof to shelter us. If a friend happen to pass along the road, we will offer him meat and fish. At times even, by the help of chance, venison smokes upon the board. On the anniversary of birth-days, a tart and a more delicate glass of wine are added. Whether the child be great or small, we will drink to the happy year." Then the poet's thoughts turn to the beggars who are wandering about the town beneath an inclement sky. "Poor beggars!" he exclaims; "whether it rain, hail, or snow, it makes no difference to them. The anniversary of their children's birthday comes round, and no band of friends flocks up to knock at their door. The indigent man has neither fire to warm him, nor songs to give him courage. The poor receive

no presents." The poet then compares his position and home-comfort with the fate of these wretches, and falls into a reverie as to the origin of misery. "Can we be formed," he asks himself, "in a better mould and of a better clay than they? Has that God who sees everything chosen us to adorn with gold and diamonds, and clothed them in rags?" This idea clouds his brow, and he finds no response to such questions about the causes of the inequality of social conditions. He says to himself that "the torn coat may cover an honest heart." This reflection heightens his sorrow, and he can only discover one remedy for this moral perplexity, which weighs on him like a remorse: having more than he wants to live, more corn than a sound economy counsels him to save (this trait is thoroughly Dutch), he proposes to give a spark of his fire, a draught from his cup, and a piece of his bread. This resolution relieves him, and his oppressed heart and mind recover. "It is late, young lads and girls: there is some one in the street: open the door. Who will be the first to draw back the bolt? It is a poor mother out in the cold: trembling, she weeps over her infant." This good action thoroughly consoles the happy poet, and his song is then raised in thanks to the source of all blessings. "I thank Thee, O God!" he exclaims, "for having shown me this way to appease my trouble:

wishing and doing good, Lord, is working with Thee!" The good old man (Tollens is nearly eighty) terminates by concluding that charity springs from gratitude for the blessings we enjoy, and that, properly understood, piety is nothing else than humanity. This philosophy is not new, but it is practical, and gives a correct idea of Dutch life.

In nearly all the towns of the Netherlands, there are houses destined to lodge poor families, and which the various religious administrations give for nothing to the suffering members of the community. At the Hague, the Calvinist deaconry possesses no less than one hundred and twenty of these houses, which are grouped with more or less art. These cities of workmen do not possess that melancholy aspect which springs from barracking people: here each family has its own house, built of bricks, very new, clean, and airy, and which invites the light to enter with quite a festal air. Between these houses, which face each other, is a square of turf, which rejoices the eye, and on which clothes are dried. The same Protestant community also opened a cheap baker's shop for the poor recently. Thus lodged, fed, and helped by a thousand hands, wretchedness loses in Holland that misshapen character which afflicts modern society. In the windows of these pensioners of religious charity we notice

flowers, which render the gloomy atmosphere of poverty fragant with a little joy and hope. We will not say that Dutch society does not suffer from grave evils and misfortunes, but we like to perceive that Protestantism has done here all it was permitted to do in the way of almsgiving, to keep at bay those terrible problems which agitate and upheave other nations.

A people so proud, and justly so, of its ancient maritime glory as the Dutch, could not forget its sailors. I visited at Amsterdam a magnificently situated building, on the front of which is inscribed *Zeemanshoop*. From the terrace you survey the whole city, the canals, the house-roofs blackened by the smoke, the steeples of the churches, which spread the hour over the sea, like time over eternity, and the legions of mills in Saardam. In this mansion a society holds its meetings, which provides for the widows and orphans of sailors: it gives help to shipwrecked mariners, and grants rewards to devoted men who struggle against the tempest to save from shipwreck passengers of all nations. It will be seen that the system of beneficence, though formed of diverse elements, embraces all peaceful professions, and all ages of life, from infancy to second childishness. In this same city of Amsterdam, on the Amstel Quay, stands a vast building, known by the name of *Oude mannen en vrouwen huis*, or

asylum for the aged. I remember to have seen at Leeuwarden, in Friesland, an old building in a charming style, in which poor families were received. At the Hague men and women, bowed beneath the burden of indigent old age, were formerly confounded in the same building with the orphans; but at the present day they are separated. The Calvinist deaconry has erected for them a new building—a true palace of charity—opened in 1854. This almshouse was founded exclusively with the donations of the religious community, and cost more than 8000*l*.

In such houses the poor are properly taken care of, but no longer belong to themselves, and the suppression of the feelings of human personality is frequently a source of moral suffering. This suffering has not escaped the notice of one of the best known authors and most amiable men in Holland—Pastor Beets, who, under the name of Hildebrand, has attracted the notice of his fellow-citizens. As the author of the "Camera Obscura," he has specially sought to describe, in a humorous form, the manners of his country; and as his observations, moreover, strengthen our conclusions, we may be permitted to translate one of the episodes of his book. Hildebrand is the guest of his uncle, with whom he spends his vacations. One morning, after breakfast, he takes a walk in the garden, where he meets old Kees, a pen-

sioner of the almshouse, who earns an honest penny in his seventieth year by cleaning boots and shoes, delivering messages, and carrying out newspapers. The worthy man appears frightfully troubled—but we will let Hildebrand describe the details of this interview :—

The face of Kees clearly denoted this: I would willingly take you for my confidant; but the old man's lips merely uttered the words, "Do you know little Klaas?"

I replied that I had not the honour of his acquaintance.

"Did old Peter never point him out to you? All the town knows little Klaas; he picks up plenty of cents, I assure you."

"I never saw the man."

"He is not a man, or anything like it. He is a dwarf, sir, a perfect dwarf! he might be shown at a fair. But he is a wicked little devil, as I know too well."

I might have desired a little more method in the good old man's recital.

"He lives in the asylum," Kees went on after a short pause; "he runs about the streets like a madman. He makes a good deal of money with his hump. When the children return from school, they club together their cents, and little Klaas dances. Then he hops round his stick like a monkey, and displays his hump, so that it seems, as it really is, enormous. I haven't a hump," he added, with a sigh.

It was clear that Kees was more jealous of the money than of the hump in itself.

"I should like," he went on, brushing the coat too roughly for a cloth that cost ten florins a yard, "I should very much like to be hunchbacked; I should have nothing to do then. I should gain a deal of money, and the people in the street would look at me and laugh; but I should not drink," he continued, as he gently removed the coat

from the peg and folded it up carefully. "No, I should not drink."

"Kees," I said to him, "if I spoke to you when I met you in the garden, it was because I fancied you were sad. I would sooner see you sad than in a bad humour, as you now are."

Tears filled the old man's eyes. He stretched out his wrinkled hands to me, and I took them in mine at the moment when he was withdrawing them, as if ashamed of his boldness. Before letting them loose, I pressed them heartily to give him courage.

"Oh, sir," he said, "I know not how to express myself; but I was more grieved than angry. Little Klaas has done me a great injury! Little Klaas is a bad comrade. People imagine" (and he stooped down to pick up his blacking-brush) "that he is weak-minded, but he is not so. He is merely vicious."

"Come, Kees," I said to him as I put up the leaf of a garden-table, "sit down, then, and tell me frankly what little Klaas has done to you."

"That will be of no use; but I do not hesitate to tell you, if you will promise to keep it to yourself. Do you know the house?"

"What house?"

"The asylum."

"I have seen the outside of it."

"Very good. It's an unpleasant building, is it not? a gloomy house with its red doors and windows, and inside all sorts of red and black things. You know, sir, that we are all poor people in that house—as poor as those who are in the burial-ground. I and a few others do our best to earn a trifle. We are obliged to give all we earn to the *father*, and he hands us at the end of each week a few cents for our small wants. That is proper, sir, very proper. When I become old, and am no longer able to earn even a few coppers, I shall have a little money in my pocket. This and that," he added, producing a coloured pocket handkerchief and tapping the lid of his snuff-box, "I bought entirely from my savings."

It was affecting to hear a man of seventy say "When I become old."

"Now, sir," he continued, "Klaas receives his money like the rest of us; but what does Klaas do? Klaas does nothing but pull up the grass between the paving-stones every now and then. Klaas pretends to be an idiot. Klaas dances out of doors; and when he has gotten a few pence from the children or the persons he amuses, he goes through the town gate—do you know the *Greasy Napkin*, sir?"

"No, Kees."

"It is a pot-house, sir, in a lane between two hedges. Klaas goes there to drink his drop, and sometimes drinks too frequently there—that does not concern me. But what need had he to ruin me? You do not know why. I will tell you, sir. I had some money—a good deal of money: I had twelve florins!"

"And how did you earn that sum, Kees?"

"Honestly, sir. I saved up that money by delivering medicines for an apothecary. Sometimes when I carried a bottle to a country house near the town, the lady or gentleman would say, 'Give one or two pence to the poor fellow, the weather is so bad.' By degrees I thus got together my twelve florins. It was against the rules of the house, but I hid them under my clothes. Night and day I carried them on my heart."

"And why? did you really want the money, or was it merely for your pleasure?"

"I will explain it to you. Look ye, sir; when we die, we are laid out on a truss of straw, we are dressed in a shirt belonging to the house, exactly as we were when alive, and then we are put in the common part of the burial-ground; and that is precisely what I did not wish. When I am dead, I am anxious no longer to wear the Asylum linen."

He stopped for a few minutes, and the tears filled his eyes again.

"I desire," he went on, "to rest in my own coffin. I do not know how to explain it, but I wish to be dressed for the great sleep as I saw my father dressed—in my own clothes.

I never possessed a sheet of my own, so I should like, at any rate, to wear a winding-sheet bought by myself."

I was touched. Do not talk to me about prejudices! The rich in this world have them by millions. This poor man could endure everything—scanty fare, a hard bed, and, for his years, heavy toil. He had no home, so he could not have a private tomb. All that he ambitioned was, that his last garment should belong to him.

"You see, now," he continued, with some slight emotion in his voice, "why I was so anxious to keep my twelve florins. It was a large sum, but still I desired something more than the owning my winding-sheet. I wished to be buried decently. I am not a great hand at such matters, but I calculated four florins for the linen, two for the people who buried me, and half a florin for each of the twelve men who carried me to the grave. Would not that have been arranging matters properly? The apothecary's apprentice had written all this down for me on paper. The money was carefully wrapped up, and sewn in a leather bag, which I have carried for the last thirty years on my heart—and now it has vanished."

"Did Klaas rob you?"

"No, no," Kees replied, emerging from the painful reflections into which the last words had plunged him; "but he discovered that I had this money. His bed was next to mine. I know not whether he glimpsed my treasure when I dressed or undressed; perhaps I spoke about it in my sleep, during an illness I had. It is very possible; for I know that I was always thinking about my burial. Last Tuesday it rained the whole day, as you know, sir, and Klaas had not picked up a cent. The weather was too bad, and the lads would not stop in the streets. His pocket money was all spent, and he had made up his mind to go to the *Greasy Napkin*. 'Kees,' he said to me after dinner, 'lend me six cents.' 'Klaas,' I answered him, 'you will not have six cents from me to spend in liquor.' 'I will have them,' he shouted. 'Not from me.' 'Well, if you do not give me the money, I will tell the father what is hidden under your

clothes.' At these words I turned pale as a sheet, and gave him the six cents. 'Klaas,' I said to him, 'you are a villain.' Perhaps he conceived a hatred for me, owing to this remark, which was rather severe, but I do not know. What is certain is, that yesterday he was drunk again, and while the log was being fastened to his leg as a punishment, he yelled like a maniac, and sang, 'Kees has money! Kees has money! next his skin! lots of money!' My comrades told me this when I returned to the house. I wandered about like a ghost, but at last we mounted the stairs. On reaching the men's sleeping room, we undressed. Klaas was already in bed, and snoring like a pig. When the other men were asleep, I slipped my hands under the blankets and sheets, to hide my money, but before I could draw out my bag, the father entered the room with a lantern. I fell back on the pillow, and looked fixedly at the light, like a maniac. I felt each footstep of the father fall on my heart. 'Kees,' he said, as he bent over me, 'you have money; you know that it is contrary to the rules of the house to conceal any sum, no matter what it is.' And he tore the bag out of my hand. 'It was only to bury me,' I cried. I fell on my knees in bed, but it was useless. 'It shall be taken care of for you,' the father said to me; then he opened the bag, and counted the money very carefully. This dear money I had not seen myself since I put it in the bag; that was thirty years before. 'I swear to you,' I cried afresh, 'that I had no other intention but to get an honest funeral; I wished to pay for it myself.' 'We will see about that,' the father said, and went off with the lantern and the money. I did not close an eye all night. I shall never recover that sum."

"Why do you not send in a petition to the Council?" I said to him, in an encouraging tone.

"No, no," he went on, thrusting his hand into his bosom, as if seeking his money. "They would not leave me that money. It is a law as old as the house, and the house is as old as the world."

"That is going a little too far, Kees, and—"

He would not let me finish.

"Going too far? not at all, sir. Have there not always been poor devils like me, fed by the community, lodged by the community, and buried by the community? What would you have? I felt a want to pay for my own funeral, and it was my greatest consolation. Oh! if Klaas only knew that he will be the cause of my death!"

"Come, Kees, you must and shall recover this money; I promise it to you. I will speak about it to my uncle; he knows the gentlemen of the Council; we will see if the law cannot be evaded for once in favour of so old and worthy a servant as yourself."

"Shall I recover it? do you really mean that, sir," the good man cried, encouraged by my affirmative tone of voice. Then, wiping his eyes, he gave me his hand with a look of delight; then, wishing to say something pleasant to me, he added:

"Are your boots cleaned to your liking, sir?"

"Perfectly," I replied.

"Is your coat properly brushed, as usual? because, if it is not, sir, I should like you to tell me."

I promised him this, and went indoors. It was not difficult for me to persuade my uncle, who told the Council of Kees's request. The president sent for the father, who summoned the other members.

The circumstances were solemn. Kees was summoned to the Council Hall, and then requested to withdraw. The father was then called in, and dismissed in the same fashion. After which a grave discussion was opened, and lasted an hour. The president stated that he left the decision to the wisdom of the members of the Council, and the members, in their turn, asseverated that they left the solution entirely to the wisdom of the president.

As the deliberations could not remain in this state, the president resolved to make a motion nearly in the following terms: "On one side, it is right to hand the sum in question back to Kees, owing to his exemplary conduct, and because he will keep the money as safely as the indefatigable honorary treasurer of the society (here the honorary

treasurer bowed). But it is equally right, on the other hand, to allow that the worthy treasurer would take as much care of the money as Kees himself, and there would therefore be no reason to confirm Kees in the erroneous opinion that his money would be safer and more certain of being employed in the way he desired, if it remained in his possession instead of placing it in the hands of our worthy friend, the aforesaid treasurer."

Such was the president's categorical opinion. The secretary of the Council at once observed, and with some appearance of truth, that this motion was not sufficiently conclusive, and asked that one of the opinions enunciated should be put to the vote. The treasurer, however, was magnanimous enough to surrender his right to the administration of the sum in question, and it was unanimously voted that the twelve florins should be returned to Kees, carefully done up in the leathern bag.

Kees carried his money for two years next his heart. Last year I visited O—— cemetery, and it was a consolation to me to know that a man was sleeping there, buried in the common grave of the poor, and that this man had been respectfully carried to his last home by twelve men of his own choosing. This result was partly due to my exertions; and so, perhaps, old Kees, in his last moments, had a kindly thought for Hildebrand!

We will add nothing to Mr. Beets' story. The organisation of charity under the form of a community is certainly the most convenient, the most economical, and the only one applicable to reclaim misfortunes under the present state of matters, but it sacrifices more or less man's self-consciousness, that eternal protest of the free being which, not satisfied with attaching itself to the acts of existence, even at times extends beyond the tomb.

This intervention of a humorous poet in a grave and practical question, naturally leads us to indicate the services Dutch literature has rendered by calling the interest and compassion of the richer classes to aid the condition of the suffering classes. Through the fortunate influence it has exercised, this literature may perhaps be regarded as itself a charitable institution. The action of charity in Holland is attached to the intellectual and religious movement, whose fruitful traces may be followed from century to century in the works of poets and romancers. No literature is so rich in moralists as the Dutch; but among the men of talent who have striven to read a lesson in verse, the most extensive influence belongs to Jacob Cats. His works are in everybody's hand; he is the invisible friend and guest of mansions, drawing-rooms, and cottages. During the winter nights, Paterfamilias opens on the green-cloth-covered table the voluminous collection of the old poet with as much respect as he does the Bible. Any girl who yawns or goes to sleep during the perusal of Cats' works is what we should call in France "a female Voltairian." Father Cats, as the Dutch call him, was born in 1577, at Brouwershaven, a small town in Zeeland. At an early age he entered the service of the States General pensionary of Middleburg, then of Dort, and lastly of Holland; he spent a portion of his life in public official duties.

Sent as ambassador to the court of Charles I., and afterwards to that of Cromwell, he derived from the management of affairs that correct judgment which is not always the privilege of poets. A man of learning, he took advantage of his various journeys to study the manners and languages of foreign nations. In his works may be found verses in Italian and old French. Generally, the poet writes the latter language very incorrectly, but he has more success with his Latin verses. Toward the close of his life, he withdrew to a country-house in the vicinity of the Hague, where, surrounded by his children, and children's children, the patriarch indulged his taste for literature and a rural life. A set of verses by him exists in which the poet answers the Dutchmen of his day who laughed at him for forming a garden on the Dunes. The old man had the best of his critics; for *Zorgvliet* (the care dispeller), although built amid the sands, became one of the most exquisite country houses imaginable. Not so long ago the stone table at which Cats usually wrote was shown in the garden, and a hole in the table served as ink-stand. This pretty mansion now belongs to the Queen-mother of Holland. Father Cats wrote his own history, or what would now be called his confessions, in a copy of verses placed at the head of his complete works, and they are the confessions of a just man. His life, exempt from those

weaknesses that seduce the imagination, is more interesting from a moral than an artistic point of view. Himself tells us, that he showed himself "more curious in books than in ribbons." Jacob Cats only understood love in a legal shape; the love of a husband for his wife, and all his affections were concentrated in family life. He died in 1660.

His works contain lessons and counsels for all ages of life, for all social conditions, and all degrees of fortune. If a woman requires a song for her newborn infant, Cats supplies it; he has good words for the child tormented by the fear of the rod; for the young man whose beard is beginning to grow; for the betrothed, who wishes to slip the ring on to the finger of his affianced maiden; for the husband, the father, and the grandfather. He always instructs, and sometimes consoles. A friend to the poor, he turns towards them the hearts of the rich, by incessantly warning the latter of the fragility of happiness, the sudden changes of fortune, and the vanity of those things on which human pride and social consideration are founded. As he was nourished at the sources of antiquity, he envelops his maxims in historical scenes and the phenomena of nature. I will quote a passage, to give an idea of the author's manner:—

We read in the books of past times that at the hour when

the sun expired in its splendour, it shed from its vermilion-lipped mouth a golden light, and with this light a silvery sound, which filled the vast space; but when the flame withdrew its musical beams, when the clouds of heaven in passing veiled the radiant face of the planet, or when the shadows of even obscured its brilliancy, the celestial face became silent, and no longer aroused in the air the least harmonious quivering. Things were so formerly. And now, too, the man who lives in the lustre of fortune is regarded, both in city and country, at court and in academies, as a man of sense and learning; all that issues from his mouth is admirable; but when the clouds of adversity pass athwart the sun of his fortunes—when the shadows of misfortune veil his light, which is a song—it is all over with his reign. All his moral value then vanishes like a mist; for who is there willing to see a sage in a poor man?

With such principles, we cannot feel surprised that old Father Cats has become the poet of the people; or that his *Peasant's Bible* composes, with the other Bible and the annual almanac, the entire library of the unfortunate. Still, we must not conclude from this that the man of whom the Netherlands justly feel proud, was a poet of the first rank. His moralities are prolix; his great experience, his inexorable good sense, and his natural uprightness, are qualities that demand esteem; but, artistically regarded, we might, perhaps, desire in a poet, and even in a moralist poet, a ray of fancy. Bilderdyk asserted that the works of Cats contained a treasure; I am ready to concede it, but it is rather a treasure of wisdom than of genius. I am afraid that the eminently

moral character of old Jacob Cats and other national poets has led the Dutch to exaggerate the value of their literature; for the Good is not always the Beautiful; and, however excellent the intention may be, it is not sufficient to immortalise works of the mind.

Cats's footsteps have been followed; almost all the poets, ancient and modern, and nearly all the romancers have made the imagination serve the purpose of moral usefulness. For other nations, the garb under which these writers have presented the traditional ideas of duty would be too transparent and insufficiently adorned; but in Holland talent is applauded for its aspirations toward what is just and honest. Dutch literature is a tree in which we must pay less attention to the leaves and flowers than to the fruit. We may unhesitatingly refer to the influences of this mental pabulum a portion of the good works which distinguish and animate the behaviour of the different classes of society toward each other. Owing to the intervention of an intelligent principle, family life, though very strong, is not exclusive, and charity leads a man to social life. The source of this charity is a religious education and reading, and this circumstance is perhaps connected with the constitution of the Protestant Church, whose young ministers are generally well-educated men, at times distinguished poets and authors.

The gravity of their functions does not interdict them from indulging in works of fancy, but they introduce into the agreeable arts a little of that evangelical light of which they are or some day will be the natural conductors. It must never be forgotten, that in this country, where sects are so numerous, the Christian influence has remained erect, and has to a certain extent found in the love of one's neighbour a species of moral unity which floats above the surface of the divisions of creeds and religious forms.

The question of public assistance among the different civilised nations possesses a doubled gravity in the difficult times that have now come upon us. We have seen that the system of helping was formed in the Netherlands, like the soil itself, of a series of isolated alluvia. Established on religious or individual sentiment, a free association, disengaged from all restraint, only responsible for its acts to God and the poor, Dutch charity is not the less effective on that account. There is no State perhaps in Europe, where, regard being had to the extent and resources of the population, so large an amount of alms descends from the rich classes upon the necessitous. The struggle against the water, the fisheries, and the peat trade, have shown us what power there is in the Batavian race ; and the moral

study of the public benevolence shows us all there is noble and generous in it. These two points of view are inseparable; for nations are no less honoured by their goodness than by their grandeur or riches.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VERSAILLES OF HOLLAND—THE SIEGE OF LEYDEN—BURSTING THE DYKES—AN AMPHIBIOUS CONTEST—WILLIAM THE SILENT — ORIGIN OF THE UNIVERSITY — USE OF LATIN — THE NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM—THE JAPANESE COLLECTION—SIEBOLDT—STUDENT LIFE—CHAMBERS OF RHETORIC —CHARACTER OF THE EDUCATION—PROPOSED CHANGES—DESCARTES' HOUSE—BOERHAAVE—THE END OF THE RHINE —SPECIMENS OF DUTCH POETRY.

In Holland, the intellectual movement is enveloped in the religious movement. This alliance between the faith and human thought is a consequence of the events that presided over the regeneration of the country. As we are aware, Holland is the work of the Reformation, and her national existence emanates from the sacred doctrines which proclaimed to the world the right of free inquiry. Although circumstances are no longer the same, the social principle continues to undergo the influence of the dogma. For more than half a century, progress has separated the religious order from the civil and political order; but constitutions, however good they may be,

change the laws more rapidly than they modify the manners and historic character of a people. In a country where Protestantism has played so great a part, it is natural neither moral efforts nor material sacrifices should be spared in order to sustain the edifices of the national creed. If attacked, the religious principle in Holland defends itself with powerful and numerous weapons. A multitude of societies have been founded, to centralise this movement—the *Unity*, established by Protestants the majority of whom belong to the magistracy and higher commercial classes; the *Christian Assistance*, of which a person becomes a member by a weekly contribution of two cents, or one florin a year; the *Tuenda* society; that of the *Comforter*, which strives to sustain unfortunate Protestants, whom the Romish Church would like to draw over; and the *Phylacterion*, which prohibits marriage with a Catholic. The adversaries of Dutch Protestantism treat these affiliations as secret societies, although their object is openly avowed; but, whether secret or not, these associations are not destructive, but conservative, and they act as a buckler to the Dutch faith. Among the defensive measures, we must not forget the publication of certain journals; at Thiel, for instance, a paper is brought out called the *Torch*, which the Catholics designate by the name of the organ of red Protestantism. Independently of the

societies, more or less secret, and the newspapers, the national religion, which has ceased to be the State religion, but has not abjured its action on the conscience, possesses, animates, and inspires the Universities. The Netherlands have three Universities, those of Utrecht, Leyden, and Groningen, and two Athenæums, situated, one at Amsterdam, the other at Deventer. Literary and scientific life is to some extent concentrated in these institutions, and the moral and religious life of the country is attached to them by bonds which it is easy to discover; the history of ideas is inscribed there in the *personnel* of the instructing body. We shall have a few opportunities for comparing the present and the past, and we trust that our assemblage of facts will arouse the sleeping ardour of a nation which, in the words of Hugo Grotius, holds an honourable place both on the sea, as well as on the ocean of human knowledge!

Leyden is the Versailles of Holland, owing to its air of fallen grandeur, sovereign sorrow, and imposing solitude. It does not lament the festivals, the faded grandeur of an ancient court, but it regrets its extinct trade, and its cloth factories, formerly celebrated throughout the world, and now lost. These factories, the cradle of a new aristocracy, were partly founded by French refugees, who, after St. Bartholomew's night and the revoca-

tion of the Edict of Nantes, carried into Holland their activity, their wealth, and their enlightenment. The desire of re-acquiring a country rendered them enterprising and superior to adversity. Leyden became, through their help, what Manchester was destined to become at a later date for Great Britain, the centre of a large and profitable trade. Of this social greatness and wealth nothing now remains to it but a Town House, a splendid edifice of the fifteenth century, two large churches, superb canals with large quays planted with trees, houses that remind us of the grand times of the Republic, and, before all, a University.

The origin of this famous University is connected with the siege Leyden endured in 1573. Every one knows the causes that roused the United Provinces against the authority of Spain. Liberty of conscience unworthily violated, political and religious despotism, the Inquisition, the censorship, and arbitrary taxation, had exasperated the national feelings. "At that period," writes Hoofdt, the historian,* "ranks, sexes, and ages were confounded in one general persecution.

* Hoofdt has been christened the Dutch Tacitus. A patient and at times successful imitator of the Roman historian, he has described in an energetic style the principal events of the War of Independence. We have, however, drawn our statement from a no less valuable and more picturesque source. A distinguished member of the States General, Mr. Wintgens, was

Only instruments of punishment were to be seen, and as the gibbets and wheels were not found sufficient, the trees that lined the roads were hung with corpses. Elsewhere numberless fires blazed, and daily scaffolds were erected, on which blood was shed. The atmosphere itself, the source of life, was infected, and resembled an immense tomb." At that period a spectacle unique in the history of the world was displayed : a few hundred men, driven to despair, fishermen, shepherds, and merchants, united to struggle against the crushing oppression of a strong government, and against armies that were reputed invincible. Following the example offered by the other Dutch cities, the inhabitants of Leyden declared in favour of a union of the provinces ; but toward the end of October were attacked and surrounded by the Spaniards. The Prince of Orange sent to them to organise a resistance at all risks, and on his side pledged himself to seek every means to come to their help. "Hold out for three months," he said to them, "and even if the siege were to last longer do not lose courage. If you persevere, in spite of the agonies of famine, deliverance is certain. If, on the contrary, you give way, an eternal slavery awaits you." The enemy in the meanwhile sought

kind enough to place at our service a collection of old engravings, embracing the entire history of the country, with the costumes, figures, and styles of each epoch.

to get into the city by flattering promises; but to all such advances the insurgents merely replied with the Latin verse,

"Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps."

The defence of the town was entrusted to James Douza, and the citizens bound themselves by oath to be buried under the ruins of their houses sooner than yield; and siege-money was coined.* Although all useless mouths were sent off at the outset, famine soon set in; for seven weeks no bread was seen in the town, and provisions of every description were exhausted. Grass, leaves, the bark of trees, the skins of animals killed and devoured long ago, even the earth, were converted into nourishment. The famine was followed by a plague, and of the 16,000 persons the town contained, 6000 to 7000 died. Living corpses could be seen burying the dead, but this city, defended by shadows, nevertheless resisted the fury of the hostile army and internal divisions. To the soldiers who shouted to them "You must die of hunger—surrender and you will receive food,"

* This money was originally of paper, but silver was shortly after substituted. Coins struck during the siege are preserved in the rich collection of medals at the Hague, and the inscriptions are significant: *Hæc libertatis ergo—Deus servet Leidam—Nummus obsessæ urbis Leidunensis sub gubernatione illustrissimi principi, Auriaci.* One of these coins bears as effigy a lion armed with a sword, and the motto, *Pugno pro patriâ.*

they replied from the rampart, "When our provisions are utterly exhausted we will eat our left hands while keeping the other to defend our liberty." One day, however, bands of starving people went to the burgomaster of Leyden, Pieter Adriaanszoon van der Werff, peremptorily demanding food or the surrender of the city. "I have sworn to defend the town," the civil magistrate answered, "and with the help of God I hope to keep my oath. Bread I have none; but if my body can aid you to continue the contest, take it, cut it up, and divide it among you." The wretched men silently withdrew.

The fate of Holland lay behind the walls of Leyden; all the United Provinces had their eyes fixed on this heroic city, but the place was so vigorously blockaded that it was very difficult to come to its aid. The Prince of Orange at length decided to cut the dykes. It was an extreme step, but the old Batavian proverb prevailed, "Better a desolated country than a lost country." The land was therefore laid under water, and the crops were swallowed up. The sea, that natural enemy of Holland, went to the assistance of Leyden, but did so slowly, for the wind did not move the water on. On these slothful waves, which did not roll up to the city, gunboats were soon visible; these boats, without sails or oars, and which moved by the help of wheels, were manned by terrible

Zeeland mariners, who had nearly all been mutilated in the War of Independence. These were men of stern countenance, mostly disfigured by frightful and honourable wounds.* They came to give the ruined city the example of a desperate resistance. The besieged saw from their ramparts the flotilla, and could speak with its crew; but through a north-east wind setting in, the water was driven back instead of advancing, and bore hope with it—even walls were shaken. The enemy, on the contrary, though driven from a few outposts by the overflow, still maintained themselves on the principal dykes. Leyden seemed lost, when the moon, entering its last quarter, swelled the mass of water, and the wind veered round to the south-west. One of those violent and continuous tempests, which in ordinary times cause such alarm about the safety of the country, burst upon the sea-board. The sea, being no longer restrained, widened the breaches already formed in the dykes, and rushed over the land, bearing before it horror, desolation, and salvation. The Spaniards, surprised and submerged, rigid with terror through the extraordinary noise of the tempest and the sound of a portion of the wall falling, tumultuously abandoned their posts after

* These intrepid sailors wore hats on which was a silver medal in the shape of a crescent, with the motto "In defiance of Mass: sooner Turks than Papists."

throwing their cannon into the water. The same tide that carried them away brought the Zeeland fleet, laden with provisions, to the gates of Leyden. A terrible and amphibious combat, to use the expression of a Dutch historian, began among the branches of trees, partly on the dykes, partly in the boats. The liberators entered the city, but in the midst of their joy, what a sad sight met their gaze! On both banks of the great canal famished men were yelling for food. They seized with bestial avidity the loaves and herrings distributed to them, and several of them who had withstood famine succumbed to food.

Such a deliverance appeared to be a prodigy; the formidable Spanish army attacked, drowned, and dispersed in the interior of the country by the sea, which seemed to be guided by an invisible hand, had disappeared like Pharaoh's host. People fancied they saw in this sudden dispersion a direct favour of God, who now loved the Netherlands as he had formerly loved Israel. Historians even record that a young Dutch maiden, Madeline Moons, who had doubtless been brought up in the traditions of the Old Testament, rendered the siege longer by winning the heart of Valdez, the commander-in-chief of the Spanish army. But here is a more serious fact. The Prince of Orange had been prevented by illness from proceeding in person to Leyden. He was at Delft, and had

hardly recovered, and was at church when the happy news of the siege being raised was brought to him. He handed the despatch to the preacher, who read it aloud, and all burst into tears and thanksgivings. Although the plague still carried off its victims in the unhappy city of Leyden, William the Silent did not hesitate about proceeding thither. Surrounded by the inhabitants, who forgot their misfortunes on seeing in this man, the living rampart of reconquered liberty, he asked them which they preferred, an exemption from certain taxes or the foundation of a Protestant University. The citizens of Leyden did not hesitate on their choice —the general cry was "A University!"

This academy was established on February 9, 1575. A great political idea at that time protected such an institution, which was about to supply a centre to the intellectual movement of the Batavian Reformation. It was not enough to found by arms the material independence of the United Provinces; a moral nationality must also be constituted. The University of Leyden was intended to combat the influence of the Catholic University of Louvain. The professors entered fully into the ideas of the Silent, which were to graft civil and religious liberty on a new political form. James Douza, who had so valiantly defended Leyden against the Spaniards, was nominated first curator of the

University. The inauguration of the Protestant academy took place with all the pomp then customary for such solemnities, and, as similar processions and ceremonies still take place at Leyden, we may, perhaps, be permitted to retrace the chief features of a festival which belongs to history.

The procession advanced from the Town House to the seat of the University. A woman in a white robe and seated in a car represented the Holy Scriptures; by her side the four Evangelists walked on foot; Justice followed, holding in one hand her sword, in the other the scales; then came Medicine, bearing a book and herbs, with Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides, and Theophrastus marching behind her. Minerva advanced in her turn, with a lance in her right hand, and in her left a shield with the famous Medusa's head; by her side were seen Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Virgil. Behind these symbolical figures were the professors. The procession on approaching the academy was met by a boat, a reminiscence of the siege. In it stood Apollo and the twin sisters; the god playing the lute while the Muses sang. At the prow was Neptune, the liberator of the city saved by water. As the professors arrived, they were embraced and complimented in Latin one after the other. At length they entered the University building, where one of them gave the students a first lecture in Theology, with musical

accompaniment. The festival concluded with a grand banquet at the house of one of the Leyden magistrates. We find in this ceremony, half-Biblical, half-Pagan, a trace of that strange alliance which constituted the veritable physiognomy of the age, especially in Holland; the Reformation and the renaissance gave each other the hand over the cradle of that constitution which was about to extend and strengthen by enlightenment the political liberty conquered by arms.

Leyden University has done what was expected of it; summoning the eminent men of Holland, and adopting learned strangers, this institution soon became a true city of intellect. An academy that reckons among its professors Justus Lipsius, Paul Merula, Scaliger, Marnix de St. Aldegonde, Vossius, Albinus, Boerhaave, and so many others, assuredly merits respect. In the present University building there is a hall in which the portraits of all the old professors are hung, and in the presence of this assembly, in which figure all the men celebrated in theology, science, and letters, I felt a real emotion. The soul of the old Netherlands was there. Among the modern professors, we will mention Van der Palm and Thorbecke. Van der Palm, a pupil of the great orientalist Schultens, has written the purest prose to be found in Dutch literature, and his lectures and studies of the Bible must be regarded even by strangers

as estimable works. At the age of thirty-three, he taught the Eastern languages. Thorbecke, now one of the most distinguished statesmen of Holland, was a few years ago professor of law at Leyden. Born at Zwoll of a bourgeois family, Thorbecke has visited Germany, to which country he is attached by his philosophical studies and certain natural affinities. His course of lectures excited very lively sympathies among the most distinguished students. One of Thorbecke's merits as a writer is in having greatly contributed to liberate the national language. Dutch prose, under the influence of the German style, was heavy and prolix, and Thorbecke introduced the short concise sentences. While striving to shun diffuseness, he fell, it is true, into the contrary excess—a certain stiffness of expression—but he is not the less a thinker, and one of the few authors who have formed a school in Holland.

Although estimable names are still attached to Leyden University, the instruction has greatly fallen from its ancient splendour. Some of the professors have retained the habit of giving their lectures in Latin, and a few years back, Mr. Tiedeman, a robust old man who still assists the students with his counsels, taught political economy in that dead language. It is curious to notice the *tours de force* to which he had recourse in order to translate the ideas of Jean Baptiste

Say into the Ciceronic idiom. Capital was called *sors;* the funds, *reditus;* price current, *pretium naturale;* interest, *usura;* a bank-note, *pecunia chartaria;* and bills of exchange, *cambiales literæ.* Other courses are still delivered in Latin, and the civil code itself is explained and commented on in this ancient prose laden with a barbarous neology. All this is gravely puerile, as a living language is required for a new science and new facts. The range of studies at Leyden is tolerably complete; but it is an instruction as old as the walls of the academy, respectable as the ancestors, and cold as the past. Most of the professors content themselves with delivering the same lectures every year, and I fear that this classical immobility has contributed to that of intellectual life in Holland. One of the curiosities of this instruction renewed from the Greeks and Latins, is the fencing-master, *qui elegantem gladii artem docet,* as the programme states.

To the University are attached scientific establishments well worthy of fixing attention. The library is fine and large, and an old engraving represents the ancient arrangements of this scientific depôt. The books were at that time ranged on species of desks, and each of them was fastened to a small iron bar by a chain; the books thus fastened were read in an upright posture. At the present day confidence has increased, and the

students are permitted to take books home, on a guarantee from a professor. The library possesses MSS. and rare works, several of which belonged to Scaliger, and the walls are adorned by a few fine historical portraits.

The anatomical museum, of which Sandifort has left a learned and detailed description, contains a rich collection of skulls, a handsome series of monsters (for monsters have their beauty too), fœtus belonging to the various human races, the head of an African king which—sad falling off in human grandeur—now figures in a glass jar, and before all a pretty child's head prepared by Ruysch. The museum of natural history is one of the most magnificent collections in Europe: masses of skeletons belonging to the different orders of nature, each zoological family represented by a profusion of subjects, birds of a thousand different hues, artistically stuffed, and which really only want their song, legions of mammalia which have preserved the movement of life even in immobility —all this causes a regret that these fine galleries should be so empty and neglected. At the head of the institution, however, are savants like Messrs. Temminck and Schlegel, whose names have gone beyond the narrow limits of Holland. In this collection, which escapes analysis owing to the wealth of the details, I specially searched for what the trade with the colonies has supplied to the

zoology of the Netherlands. Hitherto, for instance, only two species of elephants were known: those of Asia and Africa. The relations of the Dutch with Sumatra placed them in a position to determine a third species which forms the transition between the two others. A thoroughly national reminiscence has been preserved; it is the *teredo*, which is a mollusk, no more and no less. This denizen of the sea, which Linnæus calls *calamitas navium*, digs holes in submerged wood, and lines the interior of these cavities with a scaly substance. By attacking the piles that support the dykes, it threatened to destroy the power of these works, which resist tides and tempests. The consternation was general, for if the dykes were eaten through, Holland would be under water. The existence of aged Batavia, with its slowly acquired riches, its ports, its cities, its commerce, was therefore placed in doubt; and by what? a wretched mollusk. It was found necessary to oppose it by flat-head nails, which cover the piles with a cuirass of rust. In the Leyden museum are several pieces of wood rent asunder by this cruel parasite, which was, Heaven be thanked! arrested in time in its wicked designs upon the Netherlands.

The animal kingdom is not the only one represented at Leyden. There is a botanic garden, which can stand competition with all the scientific gardens

in the world. A great number of indigenous and exotic trees convert this pleasant spot for study into a delightful promenade. Through the careful cultivation, a few foreign vegetables have been surrendered by the fervid Oriental sky to the damp and cold climate of Batavia. In summer, the professors give botanical lectures in the gardens. What distinguishes Dutch science is the fact that it is illumined and warmed by the Indian sun. The director of the Herbarium, another establishment rich in dried plants, resided for nine years in Java. Mr. Blume, a German by birth, has written in Dutch and Latin several important works on the botanical geography of these fine countries. As chief of the medical staff in the Dutch Indies, he was enabled to indulge in that magnificent country his tastes for natural history. The first engravings of his works were executed on the spot by a man condemned to death, whose pardon Mr. Blume obtained on condition that this criminal hand should henceforth serve the interests of science. At a later date a Javanese artist, several fine pictures by whom I saw, lent his aid. In Mr. Blume's books, but even more in his lively and animated conversation, you recognise the enthusiasm of a man powerfully affected by the majesty of the Indian Flora. "The sun of the northern peoples," said he to me, "is the moon of the sun I saw there."

Mr. Blume has as opponent and rival at Leyden University another German, Mr. Junghuhn, who has also travelled in the East. The two learned men have even been engaged in personal and insulting contests, which recalled mediæval times. To Mr. Junghuhn is attributed the anonymous work called *Night and Day*, consisting of dialogues between light and darkness. The author seeks to prove that the arrival of Christianity arrested the development of science, civilisation, and the arts, and that, at any rate, it is wrong to attempt to introduce it among an old society, like the Javanese. This contradiction to all received ideas about the fertile succession of religious creeds, and the providential progress of society, created great scandal: but such is the toleration in Holland, so great is the respect shown for convictions, even when most opposed to the general feeling, that the professor retained his official position. It is but fair to state that Mr. Junghuhn has proved himself in his works a very remarkable geologist and botanist, and to him the world is indebted for original views as to the physical constitution of the Indian archipelago. Mr. Junghuhn is, moreover, one of the most nomadic of savants: to-day in Holland, no one is certain that he may not be off to-morrow for the Indies. Impelled to travel by the demon of science, forgetting in his hours of inspiration the wants of material life, irregular

in his studies and his leisure, he perfectly represents the type of German naturalists, who are devoted mentally and bodily to the contemplation of the universe. He reminded us of Mademoiselle Sibylle Mérian who, in the last century, crossed the ocean to form an acquaintance with the insects of Surinam.

By the side of these memorials of science we find the memorials of history at Leyden. The museum of antiquities deserves its reputation through the great number of its Indian and Chinese figures, while Professor Van der Chys teaches numismatics, and possesses a remarkable collection. Finally, we will stop before a collection unique in the world, Siebold's Japanese museum. The Dutch were until very recently the sole nation that could keep up relations with Japan. There is an island called Desima belonging to the Japanese, on which the Dutch had established a factory. Here they lived at peace, on condition of not crossing a bridge that separated them from the town. This point of contact, so restricted though it was, was for all that only a few years ago the only way in which this portion of the East communicated with Europe. Such relationships were sufficient to implant the Dutch language in Japan, and the learned men of the country study at public schools this idiom, which is only spoken in Europe by three or four million

individuals. There are in Japan even books written by the natives in that Dutch which was spoken in Holland two centuries ago. The good understanding between the allies is kept up by reciprocal presents; not long ago the king of Holland sent the emperor of Japan a steamboat, which greatly excited the astonishment and enthusiasm of the natives. The opposition party in the States General at first found matter for criticism in this munificence, and one of the deputies went so far as to say that the emperor of Japan, through some whim peculiar to absolute princes, might some day insist on receiving a *green horse!* As for the vessel presented to the emperor, it was a pledge of the consolidation of good relations between the two nations, for a fresh convention was signed at Nagasaki, the town adjoining Desima. The Japanese Government, desirous of being initiated into the progress of modern naval architecture, gave considerable orders in Holland, and some Dutch naval officers even remained in Japan to develope nautical instruction there. All seems to indicate closer and more fertile relationships between two countries, whose intimacy has too long been restricted by that distrust with which foreigners inspire the old Oriental theocracies.

This exclusion, which has existed for several centuries, and was provoked by the tentatives of

Catholic missionaries, has more than once excited the indiscreet zeal of scientific men. Mr. Siebold, a German by birth, and attached to the medical staff of the Dutch Indies, went into Japan about thirty years ago. The history of this race which enfolds itself in the double cloak of isolation and silence, was well adapted to tempt a curious and persevering mind. Mr. Siebold resolved to penetrate, despite all obstacles, the manners and origin of this people, which, like the sphynx, has made a power of the unknown. The origin of the museum at Leyden, if the anecdote be true, would be as interesting as the collection itself. It is said that the emperor's daughter was ill, and that Siebold had the good fortune to cure her. He set no other price on his services than permission to visit the interior of the country, and enter into relations with the men of science. Unfortunately this story always looked to me like a fable, and the truth seems to be that Siebold, as military surgeon to the Dutch establishment at Desima, managed by degrees to slip into the good graces of some lettered Japanese. He thus furtively obtained most of the objects that might throw light on the mysterious life of the different classes of the population. The subterfuge was discovered, and the accomplices of this fraud, it is said, paid with their heads for an indiscretion severely reproved by the laws, while Siebold himself was

kept in prison for nine months. Holland was for a moment angry with him for having compromised her good relations with the Japanese Government, but soon allowed that if the enterprise was rash, the intention was very excusable. The emotion produced in the East by this laudable ruse is not yet effaced, and when it was some time ago proposed to send Mr. Siebold on a mission to the country he had made known, the Government was restrained by an apprehension of the dangers that awaited him.

Whoever has attentively examined the Leyden museum, can say that he has seen Japan, *minus* the sun, and the scenery. The temples, the portable chapels; the idols, astounded at no longer receiving incense and intreaties; the dresses, among which those of the fishermen are remarkable; the musical instruments; the principal tools of trade and agriculture; the weapons; the works of art, in which you recognise the delicate traits of an ingenious, patient, and motionless race; a multitude of domestic details, models of houses in bamboo; in a word, everything that can enlighten the history of Japanese life, may be found in this collection formed by the savant at the peril of his life. Siebold's great work, *Niphon*, gives the explanation of all the engravings, which with the text initiate us minutely into the physical geography of the country, the natural history, sacred iconography,

the principal types of the Japanese race, and the literary and scientific memorials. Siebold is at present at St. Petersburg, but he has left at Leyden a pupil, Mr. Hoffman, who, though he has not travelled, is as well acquainted as his master with the language and antiquities of Japan.

These various institutions lead us to speak of the student life. The young men intended for the pulpit, the bar, or medicine, generally spend four or five years at Leyden. The first year is devoted to completing classical studies; and then they follow different directions, according to the faculty to which they belong. The professors regularly deliver their lectures at home, and are paid half their salary by the state, the other half by the students. The last pay thirty florins a-piece for each course of lectures. During the whole period the young men spend at Leyden, they can, when the sum is paid, follow the professor's lectures, which, as we said, are repeated every year. Every aspirant to a degree is obliged to attend seven or eight courses at least in each branch of instruction. The number of students is from four to five hundred, and they give the tone and movement to the city. A taste for historic fêtes is kept up among these youths, who are fond of displaying themselves. When we were at Leyden, they celebrated with great pomp

the entrance of Charles V. into Dort. A few rich costumes were noticeable, but the ensemble was deficient in taste and harmony; the horses, for instance, were saddled and bridled in the modern fashion, and the anachronism offended the eye. The stay, too, I had made in Belgium had rendered me rather averse to such historical processions and travestissements. I saw at Brussels the festival of the Constitution, in which all the chief state bodies defiled in character costumes, with an order, solemnity, and scrupulous attention to details, which really gave this representation the value of a work of art.

There are at Leyden, as everywhere, students who study, and students who do not; the latter are more frequently at the "society" than at lectures or their own rooms. The "societies" in Holland are a species of cafés, at which they read the papers, talk over trivial matters, and run up a score, which their parents will have to pay. A few more earnest students have recently renewed the tradition of the chambers of rhetoric or *rederijkers*. These "societies" date back to the fourteenth century, when they existed in nearly all the towns of the Netherlands, and were recruited from all classes of the population, nobles, monks, and merchants. The members met on certain days in a room belonging to the institution, and which had a peculiar device; poems were recited here,

and improvisations on a given subject practised. These chambers of rhetoric have exercised a great influence on Dutch literature, but take it altogether, a pernicious influence. False taste, imitation of foreign styles, and classic bombast were by degrees introduced into these circles, whose members admired each other in order to be themselves admired. The old chambers of rhetoric are accused, and justly so, of having in the end arrested the development of Dutch originality. Still, such institutions, if revived and placed in harmony with the wants of the age, might yet do some service. The student members of this literary association held their meetings in the *burg*.

Formerly the citadel of the town, the burg is now a ruin, though an imposing and venerable ruin. The foundation of this feudal edifice is attributed to Hengist, Duke of the Saxons according to some, King of the Frisons, according to others, who had just subjugated the Bretons. Whatever be the truth about its obscure origin, the burg, which was formerly entered by a flight of stone steps, and which you now reach by labyrinthine avenues, is a powerful work of military architecture. Its round forts, the thickness of its walls, which time has respected, and its position on a hill commanding the course of the Rhine, contributed in the ages of barbarism to personify in it the sombre genius of strength.

This old castle was the mistress of the town, and private houses were erected one by one in its shadow, and sought a protection in the feudal tyranny that commanded them. History has registered the seditions and troubles which the terrible rule of the ancient Burgraves more than once aroused among the citizens of Leyden, but their eagle nest is now only one of the city ornaments. From this elevated point you survey, as from an observatory, the vast plains of the Rhinlande. The students held their literary meetings during the summer in the enceinte of the burg, which was begirt by thick and formidable walls, the vault of heaven serving as the roof. Here some men, now known in literature or the legislature, made their first trials of their weapons, and the young men enlivened these meetings by a number of thoroughly German jokes. One day the patriarchal glass, from which Rhenish wine was drunk to moisten the learned discussions, happened to be broken. The members of the literary society assembled at the burg; a grave was dug, and the defunct laid in the ground with all the pomp due to its numerous services; Mr. Beets, now a grave minister of the gospel, but then a merry student, pronounced in very pleasing verses the funeral speech of the friend they had lost. A tombstone was erected to the memory of the dead, and on it were engraved two

Latin inscriptions: in front, "*Poculo optimo de se merito posuerunt fratres Rhetorici:*" and on the back, "*Fortuna vitrea est.*"

In summer the students spread over the country in noisy swarms. One day I passed through a village near Leyden, whither the young men who had passed their final examination had proceeded to rejoice with their companions and celebrate the success of their studies. After the banquet, in which jests and classic reminiscences were interchanged with the fire of youth, the joyous band proceeded to the Burgomaster's house. Upright in their intoxication, and grave beneath their laughter, they presented the thesis to the local magistrate, who, surrounded by the municipal authorities of the place, complimented the newly-made Doctor, in pompous terms, though perhaps with a little too much good faith. The ceremony, half-mock, half-serious, was repeated with each. These scenes of youthful life have found a historian in Mr. Knepellhont, an ex-Leyden student. The author had first drunk at the sources of French literature, and even published two volumes in that language; but speedily abandoning an enterprise which he himself stated to be daring, Mr. Knepellhont has since displayed his graceful talent in his own tongue. If our space permitted, we should like to quote a few pages from his work on *The Students,* in

which the language of the University population is reproduced with thorough Dutch licence. There is also a collection of caricatures called *Zoo zyn er* (There are people like them), in which the artist has drawn the more or less grotesque types of this scholastic youth.

On leaving the University, I stopped for a while in front of the publishers, from whom the students obtain their books for leisure hours. There were somewhat frivolous novelties, romances of contestable choice, and novels of doubtful taste. This sight reminded me of the ingenious criticism of a Dutch writer, D'Aren Fokke Simonsz, who lived in the last century. "He began by selling books, and ended by making them." The author is supposed to be walking about Amsterdam, and seeking a shop he saw announced in the morning papers, with the inscription, "Store of poesy and versification, kept by Mr. Phœbus Apollo of Delos." He rings the bell: at this sound an old female servant introduces him into a back shop, where he finds an aged man engaged in making up his accounts. The servant (she is one of the Muses) then tells him that he is in the presence of the god, and worthy Aren Fokke Simonsz addresses him in these terms:—

"Κλῦθι μευ, ἀργυρότοξ ὅς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας."

Tears fill the old man's eyes on hearing these

words, but he cannot refrain from smiling at the same time, which imparts so singular an expression to his face, that Simonsz would have burst out laughing had he dared. "Oh, my dear sir," he at last said, "who are you? That is a language I have not heard for a long time. It reminds me of my dear old blind friend, poor Homer. I am really affected; but I cannot refrain from smiling at the contrast with my present situation. Have I still the air of a powerful deity? No, no; I can now exclaim with Virgil of glorious memory, *Fuit Ilium.*"

Having thus proved himself, to some extent, a *laudator temporis acti,* the god proposes to show his visitor in the shop the books he lends out by the day or month, sells, or exchanges, according to the good pleasure of the customer. Before walking through the stores, which are filled with all the novelties—that is to say, all the extravagances and commonplaces of the day—systematically arranged, the visitor inquires after the health of the Nine Sisters, to whom he desires to offer his respects:

"The Muses," the god answered me, "are, as you may expect, old and weak. They are melting away under old age like snow before the sun. The life they lead is not a very happy one, for they pass their time in tearing one another to pieces."

"But Thalia," I remarked, "was formerly good-tempered. I hope she is still the same?"

"Oh, do not talk to me of Thalia. She is the worst and most vexatious in the house. She is so morose that she would be the death of me, were that possible. All the day long she composes satires and pamphlets. She is growing old, and her comic vein is exhausted. Even during the time of Aristophanes, she caused me considerable annoyance. She never behaved herself so well as in the time of Plautus, Menander, and Teeence. Two centuries ago she still flourished with Molière and Holberg; but now she is much too fond of street poets, who come here to buy their stuff. Still, I cannot prevent their coming; for, after all, their money is as good as that of anybody else."

"I hope, at least," I said, "that her sister Melpomene is unchanged? She was formerly a settled and grave personage."

"She has changed, too, my dear sir; she is growing sentimental, and that is her ruin. She is the plague of my life. As for Terpsichore, she composes operas as fast as she can, and dresses like a woman of fashion."

It is easy to catch the spirit of this criticism, which is, at the same time, a picture of the decadence of Dutch literature at the end of the last century. This old Apollo in his shop bears some likeness, if I am not mistaken, to Henry Heine's *The Gods in Exile.*

At the present day the searchers for types complain of no longer finding real students. It is another race that has been lost; follow them: they no longer go about the city in merry and noisy bands; they no longer make bold propositions to the women; they no longer disturb the rest of peaceful citizens by nocturnal outbreaks. Since the introduction of railways, they profit by

the facility of communication to leave the town. On Sundays and holidays they go to their parents' houses, and enjoy family life. In this way they avoid, partially at any rate, contracting those noisy habits, which separated them more or less from society. If the history of manners loses something in this expiring student life, studies and literature will perhaps gain by it. The students of Leyden University publish every year an almanac, in which the University events of the expiring year are narrated. There are also verses in Dutch or Latin, and even some French poetry. The latter, we must do it the justice of saying, is very poor; but an assiduous perusal of French modern authors may be traced in it, and a decided taste for a language which, to its other merits, adds that of universality. It is to be regretted, in fact, that useful works should be checked by a national idiom, whose thoroughly characteristic nature frequently defies translation. French might be advantageously substituted in scientific works for the Latin language, to which all the eminent Dutchmen of the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries were indebted for spreading their names and thoughts over the world.

In 1849, a commission was appointed to examine into the state of superior instruction in the Netherlands, and its report was not favourable. The commission pointed out serious gaps in the

instruction of law, medicine, and letters, the general decay of the studies, the insufficiency of the methods employed, and a general torpor in the body employed to impart knowledge to the youth of the Netherlands. For this deplorable state of things, it proposed various remedies, among which we will only mention one—free trade. It was the wish of the commission that rival desks should be allowed by the side of those occupied by the State professors. At the present day this liberty certainly exists in Holland; but the aspirants to degrees being bound to pass examinations—these examinations being held by official professors—the latter only give a *testamur*, as is natural, to students who have attended their lectures. A change must be introduced, for this is a question of vital importance to the Netherlands: when studies fall off, nations decline. Leyden University is decaying, but its traditions remain, and it would only require a moral impulse and the benefits of competition to regenerate a petrified instruction, which rests too much on its past glory. Holland is still the country of Leuwenhoek, Christian Huyghens, Ruysch, Boerhaave, and Valckenaer; but she ought to follow, by severe and conscientious study, the footsteps of all these great men, instead of pointing to their portraits.

It would be impossible to quit Leyden without

paying a visit to Descartes' old house. It is in truth one of the glories of Holland, that she welcomed and, to a certain extent, appropriated all the men who struggled for the triumph of human reason. At the Hague, in the William Park, is a statue erected to the father of modern philosophy, with the inscription, *Cogito, ergo sum.* The statue is detestable, but the intention is good. A country has the right to claim as its own those proscripts of intellect whom it has enabled to live, think, and die in peace. Descartes' house is about two leagues from Leyden: it is truly a philosopher's nest, concealed beneath great trees, which, when shaken by the breeze, commence a fierce dialogue together. This abode is full of reminiscences. Descartes enjoyed his abode in Holland; and in a letter he invited his friend Balzac to join him in this land of liberty.

On the same road—that is to say, the road leading to the sea—you come to Boerhaave's house, which is larger, more adorned, and sumptuous, as was fitting for one of the princes of science. I was told that the present owner of this château tried to deny, for the sake of some title or other, his relationship with the celebrated physician. Blush about Boerhaave, and do so through self-esteem! Nor can you leave this district, where grand names are blended with exquisite scenery, without taking a parting glance

at the Rhine. Weak, forgotten, and unknown, it drags itself miserably towards Katwyk. Such was not always the destiny of this deposed river; but it is said, that in 860, or thereabouts, a tempest raised mountains of sand on the coast, and closed the mouth of the old Rhine. The Netherlands poets were necessarily inspired by the misfortunes of the national river. At the moment when the country regretted its independence, Helmers compared the fate of his fatherland to the destiny of the river, and asked whether, like the Rhine, which, after majestically conveying its waters through Germany, is ignominiously lost at Katwyk, Holland, which had formerly spread not without glory over the world, was destined to end in servitude and abjectness? *Unfortunately, this work of an epic character is not exempt from turgidity or bad taste. Patriotism* is a fine thing,—but poetry is another. I greatly prefer to Helmers' manifesto a simple and touching elegy, in which the author also apostrophises the Rhine. Borger, the poet, compares his youth to that of the river: "Like thee," he says, "I had cloudless days; my green plains, my humble dwelling, which love lit up with a ray of golden sunshine, appeared to me preferable to the palaces of monarchs. At eventide I was happy when, gazing with *her* at the starlit vault, we travelled in love, and took our share of heaven: but now—"

Here the poet sings his personal misfortunes ; the crown of joy has fallen from his head, and the course of his existence is as dark and lost as that of the old river. His wife is dead ; his infant is dead ;—the bud has fallen with the flower. The dear beings repose at Katwyk, and the Rhine has made them a pillow of sand. The desolate husband and father mingles his tears with the waters of the river, bidding it carry them to the tombs he loves. The world is full of sadness and misery. Like the old river, which, knowing at Katwyk the sad result of its fairest destinies, would doubtless be unwilling to run its course anew, the poet declares that he would not return to the sources of life.

Leyden University specially offers a scientific and literary interest. At Utrecht we shall find the religious element. The old Netherlanders, with their stern and narrow orthodoxy, await us on the threshold of this academy, which still shines, though with an enfeebled lustre. The theological movement, however, occupies too great a place, even at the present day, in the intellectual and moral life of Holland, for Utrecht University not to offer us a vast field of observation.

CHAPTER V.

UTRECHT—THE FRENCH IN HOLLAND—THE CATHOLIC PARTY—PROTESTANT ORTHODOXY—BILDERDIJK—HATRED OF FRANCE—A NEW SCHOOL—GROEN AND DA COSTA—CHARACTER OF THE UTRECHT STUDENTS—THE JANSENISTS—A HARMLESS EXCOMMUNICATION—THE MORAVIAN BRETHREN—THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—MISSIONARIES' LOVE-FEASTS.

UTRECHT is a rather large city, with deep, enclosed canals, with which the adjoining houses communicate by means of covered passages; a tower, the *Domtoren*, from which an extensive landscape and twenty towns are visible, and old ramparts, at the present day converted into a delicious promenade and surrounded by a belt of water. The atmosphere is purer and lighter than in all the other cities of Holland, properly so called, while the Rhine divides here into two arms, which are, however, weak and languishing. Utrecht has lost its celebrated velvet manufactories, but handsome shops remain. The cellars that run under the quays along the water are spacious enough to serve as *entrepôts*, and assist

trade speculation. The physiognomy of the city is sad, especially on days of rest. The observance of Sunday has considerably relaxed from the old Calvinistic severity at the Hague, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, but such is not the case at Utrecht. On that day, you may see there Puritan faces to be met with nowhere else, and which seemed the ghosts of another age, proceeding to church. Utrecht is an historic city; at Leyden, we found reminiscences of Philip II. and the Duke of Alba; but here we meet at each step the memory of Louis XIV. The struggle the United Provinces carried on against France has everywhere left its traces in the religious buildings. The great cathedral, that forest of stone so curiously cut in two by the blast of a tempest, several times changed its God, if we may use the expression, according to the vicissitudes of war. On the arrival of the French, the walls of the heretic edifice were exorcised; the statues of the saints were replaced in the empty niches, and the forgotten processions again traversed the city. Then, by one of those changes which affect even the blessed, the statues fell once again and the altar disappeared. The Dutchmen of the seventeenth century neglected nothing that could excite the national feeling against the foreign invasion, and the narratives and engravings of the period retrace with savage energy the acts of atrocity in which

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the soldiers of Louis XIV. indulged. We may be allowed to believe that passion exaggerated the character of these revolting scenes; but we cannot refrain from a feeling of sorrow in the presence of such historic records. Grave testimony arises against that spirit of conquest which associated gloomy religious quarrels with political interests.

Anyone anxious to study the reverse of the medal struck by French historians must go to Holland. There the memory of the *great king* is loaded with dark colours. In all the libraries of the Netherlands there are heaps of pamphlets and fly-leaves which are at least interesting to consult. The events of that period present themselves under a new light. It must not be forgotten that a portion of the French population was then settled on the foreign soil, and the liberty of thought placed in Holland under the protection of the law, cruelly avenged itself for the silence that reigned round absolute power. The Netherlands profited by the divisions created by the

* At each step in Holland you come across traces of this hostile emigration. At the Hague, a cutler's shop is still visible, bearing as a sign a red cat. This sign is an historic monument, though it is hard to believe it. A certain Bertrand, French by birth, and cutler by trade, set up in the Netherlands in consequence of the religious wars. As a protest, he had painted on a sheet of tin, on one side a red cat, on the other Cardinal Richelieu, with the motto, "The two wicked brutes." Diplomacy interfered, and the red cat alone remained up.

religious persecutions; though menaced by Great Britain, a part of Germany, and France, the little country offered a bold front to its enemies. Attacked in its national existence, it had recourse to its ordinary means of defence; it summoned the waters, and drowned itself in a marsh, at the moment when the illustrious De Ruyter was protecting the coasts against the alliance of the most powerful fleets. After victories sung by the poets, Louis XIV., who had advanced into the country, was compelled to beat a retreat. He retired, leaving behind him the cut dykes, and, as Voltaire says, "the deplorable glory of having destroyed one of the masterpieces of human industry."

Utrecht was formerly the cathedral town of the Catholic bishop and sovereign prince of this region, who carried on sanguinary wars against his rival, the prince-bishop of Liége. A few years ago this Episcopal see was re-established by the Court of Rome, with four other bishoprics, formerly celebrated, but which have been long buried beneath the victory of Protestantism. This act, and above all the terms of the encyclic, aroused Calvinist susceptibilities, and produced a storm in which Thorbecke's ministry disappeared. A few prudent Catholics disavowed the form of this apostolic letter, which breathed too strongly the tone of a victor re-entering his states. The agitation was

extreme throughout the Netherlands, and is still going on. The restored sees remained in existence, but this unseasonable measure nearly compromised liberty of conscience in a country which, through historical recollections, always regards the Church of Rome as the banner of foreign domination. The most violent polemics broke out in the papers and pulpits, and this levy of bucklers at any rate denoted the strength and energy of Batavian Protestantism. The old recollections of William the Silent and the war against the Spaniards were evoked with transport; their ancestors were appealed to, who had founded Dutch nationality on the religious reformation, and their shades were summoned to appear and take part in the combat. The reprisals were specially directed against the Catholic party, and not against their religion; for in Holland all creeds are covered by the law of equal protection, and this toleration has even passed into the morals of the people. The greatest fault is laid on the tricks and intrigues of an opinion which is more political than religious, and which is accused of having favoured, at any rate by its indifference, the separation of Belgium. The Catholic party has its historians and journalists. The Dutch Protestants accuse these historians of distorting the facts relating to the Reformation, misunderstanding the services rendered the country by the founders of Batavian

liberty, and insulting the national dogma which acts as a barrier against foreign usurpation. The language of the Catholic journalists, it must be allowed, was not of a nature to calm the irritation; according to them the writings of their adversaries were "impure receptacles of the most disgusting infamies." The debate was even transferred to the field of literature and art. For some years past a school has been formed in Holland which, passing over with but few exceptions the memorials of the *renaissance* and the national poets of the last three centuries, has reserved its exclusive and exaggerated admiration for mediæval buildings, the works of the saints, and legends. A map was printed at Breda by which the author, effacing the political and national delineations, enveloped the Netherlands, or, more correctly speaking, the five bishoprics restored by the Pope, in the great Catholic unity. By this stroke the God of the old Netherlands, *de God van Nederland,* as certain of the Protestants call him, was suppressed.

All these challenges had the unhappy result of rekindling against the Catholics the extinct antipathies. At the present time the emotion is cooling down, though slowly; but it is a further triumph for the religious doctrine which, in difficult times, restored victory and liberty to the Netherlands.

Utrecht, through its University, is the seat of

Protestant orthodoxy. We must explain the value of this phrase in heretic mouths. The war was ended: the political revolution was sealed in the religious revolution, and the United Provinces emerged regenerated from the great struggle which, at that day, divided Europe into Reformers and Catholics. It has been asked, why Holland became Calvinist, instead of adhering to the doctrines of Luther, as did her neighbour Germany? The reason for it will be found in the War of Independence: the Low Countries, in separating, wished to place the greatest interval between themselves and the Court of Rome, which they accused of having aided the Spanish rule. Had there been in the Reformation movement a sectarian chief more resolute than Calvin, the Dutch would have adopted him. Still the right of private judgment did not fail soon to produce dissenters among the dissenters themselves. Arminius, a professor of Leyden University, carried on with Gomar, who occupied a desk in the same academy, one of those theological contests which at that day inflamed the coldest imaginations. Holland was thus rent between two religious doctrines, and when the civil element interfered, the partisans of Arminius addressed to the States General a petition and observations, whence they derived the name of "Remonstrants." The States General found nothing better to do than leave the division

to a synod, which was convoked at Dort in 1618,* and the whole of Protestant Christianity sent delegates to it. An engraving of the time represents this historic assembly; the fathers of the new council, with their long and austere faces supplied with venerable beards, discussed there interests of extreme gravity for the epoch. It was necessary to regain a species of unity amid the shipwreck of the old creeds. The synod lasted six months, and held 152 meetings. After long and gloomy discussions on predestination, free will, and the more or less irresistible influence of Divine grace, the president declared that "the miraculous labours of the synod had caused hell to tremble," and that its mission was terminated. The doctors had established the type of the national religion; they formed their decisions into sundry articles of faith, which, whoso believes in Holland, is orthodox, while he who rejects them is heterodox.

With time this symbol has gradually fallen into

* Dort is one of the oldest towns in Holland. If we may believe tradition, which is confirmed, however, by recent geological studies, this town underwent a most extraordinary change of site. During the terrible inundation which forced the dykes in 1421, Dort, with its public buildings and houses, was moved to a new situation. This phenomenon is explained by the nature of the soil on which the town is built. It is a clay stratum, which at that time glided over the mass of peat that forms the basis of the soil.

all but oblivion ; for, if unity be a point of religious authority, division is a consequence of liberty. This division had greatly extended in the Netherlands, in spite of the efforts of the old synod, when, toward the close of the last century, a man proposed to lead back his fellow citizens to the ancient Protestant orthodoxy. Bilderdijk, for it is to him we refer, was born in 1756. He selected the bar as his profession, and practised for some time at the Hague. Profiting by the leisure the study of law granted him, he ventured into the forest of human learning: while quite a young man, he studied, with incredible ardour, theology, philosophy, medicine, comparative anatomy, astronomy, and the Eastern languages—even drawing and engraving on copper were acquirements of his. Some of his poetical efforts had already spread his name in Holland, when the country was agitated by the wind of the political revolutions which France was beginning to breathe over the world. Bilderdijk followed the last Stathouder into exile, and lived in England, and afterwards in Germany, from 1795 to 1806, gaining a livelihood by giving lessons. His friends believe that exile and misfortune further embittered his character, which was naturally irritable. Although attached to the House of Orange, Bilderdijk did not scruple to return to his country, and make his appearance at the Court of King Louis Bonaparte, where he was

loaded with favours. This ephemeral reign disappeared, and the Emperor Napoleon refused to continue the pension his brother had granted Bilderdijk. Reduced to live by the produce of his literary works in a country of only three million inhabitants, the poet gained more glory than money. These privations developed the germ of an illness contracted in exile. The events of 1814 and 1815 broke out, and the French dominion fell. The restoration of the Orange family was a piece of good fortune for Bilderdijk, and he warmly espoused the cause of the national resurrection. Supporting his personal misfortunes on those of the Dutch nation, he had severely handled the imperial *régime* in songs which gained him a portion of his renown, but, for all that, Bilderdijk only obtained a small pension from the new government. A desk was vacant at Leyden University, and he asked for the professorship; but the bitterness of his satires, the rigidity of his religious principles, and the violence of his unsociable character, caused him to fail in his request. Domestic misfortunes further troubled the decline of a life which was isolated in gloomy resentment. He died in 1831, and I saw his tomb in Haarlem Cathedral.

Bilderdijk is undoubtedly, after Vondel, one of the greatest poets of Holland. At the moment when he appeared, the national literature had

fallen very low, and was struggling to raise itself. This writer attempted all styles, and succeeded in every one except the dramatic. He made several valuable translations, but his choice of literary subjects cannot in all cases be praised. His original works possess greater value, and the Dutch greatly admire the poem entitled "The Primitive World," a grand, but confused and monstrous composition. The enthusiasm for Bilderdijk was carried almost to enthusiasm; but what obscures in our eyes the merit of a writer who certainly possessed force and brilliancy, is the unhappy propensity that incessantly dragged him into theological quarrels. We will not attempt to deny the influence, sometimes happy, of a religious sentiment upon literature and the arts; but, so soon as that sentiment limits itself to a sectarian spirit, it loses with its independence all its ideal majesty. The attempt to reconstruct a national church by the aid of poetry was, besides, false and puerile; for the Greek and Latin poets, on the contrary, contributed to dissolve the ancient religions by introducing into the mysteries and dogmas the liberty of human imagination. Bossuet, that man of authority, was well aware of this, and hence he did not love these "harmonious makers of noise." A narrow and obstinate orthodoxy was associated in Bilderdijk with an implacable aversion to French ideas. In several of his books he breaks

out into invectives against our language and literature which produce a smile.* What Bilderdijk did not forgive France was that she had produced Voltaire, Montesquieu, and J. J. Rousseau, and had made the revolution. He regarded the French Revolution through the insult of the defeat and overthrow of his country. The hatred of the new theories, carried in him to blindness and fury, closed to him the sources of a more elevated and universal inspiration. By exaggerating the old faults of his nation and reviving religious sarcasm, he threw away his great powers to descend to the part of a sectarian leader. It is true that his influence in Holland was great and incontestable, but it was in many respects pernicious.

Bilderdijk formed a school, the leaders of which at the present day are Messrs. Groen van Prinsterer and Da Costa. We are bound to speak of Mr. Groen with all the respect which great talent,

* He accuses the French language with being "a bastard language, loaded with low and broken notes, a jargon worthy of human jackals and hyænas; formed expressly for a race of infidels who laugh at truth; an idiom composed of guttural sounds, which escape by the nose, and are accompanied by a monkey's grimaces." This outbreak is exceedingly amusing in a Dutchman; for, though the Dutch language possesses qualities we will not deny, such as richness and energy, it is certainly far from being melodious. It is true that the author, after this diatribe, confesses that the French language has spread over the whole world, but, he adds, "it has spread for evil."

power, conviction, and a persevering will, always deserve. He has published in French a voluminous history of the House of Orange, in which may be found traces of the ideas of Joseph de Maistre, and his alliance of the religious and social principles. Recently, Mr. Groen did not disdain descending into the arena of journalism, and *De Nederlander*, the organ of Protestant orthodoxy, appeared daily at Utrecht. After unavailing efforts to bring over the country to his ideas, this partizan chief stopped his paper, and remained silent till the Hague sent him again, after an absence of about a year, into the States General. Mr. Groen is indebted to the representative government for some parliamentary triumphs, and his biting language has gained him a special place in the small group of Dutch orators. The party to which this statesman attaches himself has its roots in the old Batavian republic; confounding the religious with the political order, it aspires to a species of Protestant theocracy. Mr. Groen bases his personal ideas on the history of the country, which he interprets in his way, and whence he seeks to derive a sort of egotistic providence watching over the destinies of the Netherlands as its patrimony. A Dutch God, renewed in the God of the Hebrews, might have been possible at a period when the Netherlands were compelled to protect themselves behind their faith as a rampart, but that time no

longer exists. If Mr. Groen's party were in power, it would efface all the progress and all the conquests of contemporary history. That Protestantism, which it wishes to make the stem of social order, is the synodal Protestantism as it was established by the Fathers of Dort. However Mr. Groen is himself outstepped by his friends. A new Church has been formed in Holland which, considering that the National Church has deviated from sound doctrines, retired and broke off all dealings with impiety. This sect was at first persecuted by the government of William I., and its earliest apostles emigrated to America; but it grew through its sufferings, and has now gained its right of religious citizenship. Mr. Groen does not approve the conduct of the Separatists; "it is not for us," he said to them, "to withdraw; these churches, now invaded by false doctrines and false teachers, are ours. We are the elect, the veritable children of Holland, so we ought not to desert the place, but expel the infidels."

Absolute though it is, Mr. Groen's party affirms nothing; it lives on negations. According to him, the French revolution was a Pandora's box, shaken out over the world. Would he like therefore to restore in Holland the order of things anterior to the revolution of 1793? He denies it. He is supposed to have but slight liking for a representative government, but he declares that he does not want

despotism. He is accused of hiding his thoughts, and being only of value in the opposition. This atrabilious opposition unceasingly attacks the progress of civil and political order, the diminution of taxes, and the measures that have in view the separation of Church and State. This party is based on the two extremities of the social ladder—the aristocratic class and the poor class, but the middle class repulses it. When we witness Mr. Groen's sterile and chimerical enterprises, we regret that such talent and energy should be wasted upon an anachronism. Although the party of the Groenists is constantly at work in Holland, it is not dangerous, at least for the present. The country looks at and listens to its leader with more curiosity than sympathy. If, by chance, he leads away and excites the masses, it is when he waves the banner of Protestantism, which is, so to speak, the moral garment of the nation. At such times, he may delude himself as to his influence; but this force, borrowed from the recollections of history and religious creeds, abandons him suddenly, so soon as his retrograde designs are detected. In spite of all this, Mr. Groen is a man of considerable importance, and one of the most perfect types of Calvinist austerity, which must not be confounded with Catholic mortification. Owner of a large fortune, which he nobly employs, Mr. Groen resides at the Hague in a princely man-

sion, situated on the banks of the "Fish pond," a large and picturesque sheet of water, on which the shadow of the old palace of the Estates is reflected in the moonlight.

While Mr. Groen is the prose essayist of orthodoxy, Mr. Da Costa is its poet. The latter is the son of a rich Portuguese Jew, and was converted to Protestantism by the influence of Bilderdijk. In changing his religion, however, he only partly denied the God of his fathers. The orthodox are accused of professing more ardour for the Old than the New Testament; the gloomy majesty of an omnipotent, impenetrable, and taciturn Deity; harmonises more with their ideas than does the gentle and human teaching of the Gospel. The notion of a privileged race, besides, flatters their national pride, and it is sufficient to transport Israel to the Netherlands, in order to continue the biblical traditions. Mr. Da Costa believes himself the descendant of those prophets to whom the Omnipotent formerly revealed His will; and he selects, from preference, religious subjects to display his talent. His poetry might be defined by one of his own verses, "A music floating between earth and heaven;" and this music, which is rather vague, would perhaps gain by being brought nearer to our humble planet. A strange mysticism exalts, and yet, at the same time, weakens this impetuous nature, which has retained beneath a northern sky

a few drops of southern blood. One of the traits of the school to which Mr. Da Costa belongs is hatred and contempt of political economy. Mr. Da Costa is furious against the industrial movement of our age, which he confounds with the blind worship of matter. All the invectives of the poets against the locomotive, the *modern Salamander*, will not prevent it running and making the circuit of the world. A poetry which mistakes its date, and attempts to render the human mind immovable, has no future. This direction has been fatal, for it caused the human heart, nature, the social drama, and all the eternal and inexhaustible sources of the beautiful to be neglected. Dutch poetry, we do not deny, ought not to abjure the spiritualist sentiment; but that sentiment, if it wander into unintelligible fictions, and ally itself to a sectarian spirit, restricted by the narrow limits of a small national Church, can never replace contemplation of God in the universe and in humanity. In other respects, this literature is not exempt from emphasis; and as such lofty language does not belong to the Dutch character, whose principle merit is simplicity, its origin must be sought in the dry and gloomy inspirations, which like to swell the form when solid ideas are deficient. I saw Mr. Da Costa at Amsterdam, where he resides; and his features, though injured by the malady that disfigured Mirabeau, and

his black hair, sufficiently attest his Semitic origin.

Bilderdijks's influence did not stop at Mr. Groen or Mr. Da Costa ; it has unfortunately spread over young and clever men, who, in the outset of their literary career, seemed most likely to resist the influence of mystical ideas. Among them is Mr. Beets, pastor at Utrecht. He began with translations of Byron and original poetry, in which independence and delicate observation were allied to a slight degree of scepticism. A too orthodox direction now threatens to obscure and distort the amiable faculties of a mind which was not formed for religious controversies. The old Protestant party in the Netherlands finds its principal champions among poets and ladies. Missionaries in petticoats and long curls are inflamed by the obscure and metaphysical ideas, whose meaning they are accused of understanding but vaguely. Orthodoxy has become, thanks to this feminine introduction, quite fashionable ; and there is hardly a drawing-room in Holland where religious controversy does not occupy the place held in France by political discussions, under the representative régime.

Utrecht University is placed under this orthodox influence, and the instructing body is closely attached to the old traditions of the official church. Still a wolf has crept into the sheepfold, though it

was so carefully guarded. One of the professors, Mr. Opzoomer, advocates philosophy, while denying all supernatural agency. Founded in 1636, the Utrecht academy was formerly celebrated, and it now occupies the cloisters of the old cathedral. The hall in which the professors hold their council is adorned with portraits of old professors, who seem to take part in the present deliberations of the instructing corps. Among these portraits, I especially noticed that of Voetius, the ferocious theologian, who rendered Descartes' life bitter. Utrecht University has, like that at Leyden, a large library, a museum of anatomy and natural history, a botanic garden, and an observatory. On the promenade that now represents the old ramparts, there is a building devoted to meteorology, a science still in the cradle, but which may yet throw a vivid light on the physical constitution of the globe, and supply agriculture with useful information. If I may believe my eyes, and the testimony of grave inhabitants of Utrecht, the conduct of the students is not so orthodox as the teaching of the University. The public voice especially accuses the theological students with preparing for the rigid functions of the ministry by a joyous life. The societies, the *cubicula locata*, the very streets re-echo during the night that song of youth, which is only sung once, and is mingled with the rattle of glasses, bursts of laughter, and

the tumult of voices.—*Multiloquæ voces, sed non omnes masculæ.*

Centre of catholic action, centre of orthodox Protestant action, Utrecht is also the see of the Jansenist Bishop. The disciples of Jansenius formerly found in Holland that protection which this kind-hearted country afforded to all dissenters, some of whom enriched themselves by commerce. The Jansenists to a certain extent dwell in a town of their own in Utrecht. Small houses arranged like cloisters, and over-shadowed by fruit trees, are defended by a common entrance, which is closed at a certain hour. Nothing can furnish an idea of the calmness, silence, or spiritual perfume reigning in this religious city—it is Port Royal without Nicole. In the centre of these buildings, which are connected by court-yards, stands the church with the simple inscription, *Deo.* The Jansenist church, when service is not being performed, is shut up as closely as their paradise, and you are obliged to have the doors opened by a key-holding St. Peter, who is simply the curate's housemaid. This church is pretty, though in a mannered style, and the bishop, who officiates on saints' days, is appointed by the Chapter. On the day of his accession, he informs the Pope of his election, who hastens to reply by a Bull of Excommunication. This Bull is read publicly and solemnly from the pulpit of the church, and then

all falls back into the accustomed repose. Impartiality obliges us to state that this body of the Faithful, though designated, and rightly so, by the title of Jansenists, repels this qualification, and the Bishop calls himself the Head of the Dutch Catholic Church. He figures with his clergy in some public ceremonies by the side of the Protestant ministers. This religious community is only interesting from an historic point of view: the Bishop is old, the doctrine is aging, the walls are tottering, and the church, which is growing daily more insecure, stands there as a superannuated, but honourable *débris*. Some religious opinions resemble the scent of wax and incense, which hangs about long after their flame has been extinguished.

We cannot say farewell to Utrecht without visiting the pretty village of the Moravian Brethren. This religious society is descended by moral affiliation from the old Hussites, who agitated Bohemia so powerfully after the death of their chief; but they are the relics of a sect, *miserabiles quisquiliæ*, as Bossuet disdainfully called them. They wandered, suffering from persecution, through Moravia and Bohemia until Count Zinzendorf, a German nobleman, gave them, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a part of his buildings or estates, on which they settled. Some of them at this time also founded a colony at Zeist, near

Utrecht. It was a wild spot, a forest in which William III. had been fond of hunting. The forest has disappeared, but made way for delightful walks, still shadowed by old trees. Here, in the midst of a varied landscape, stands the house of the Moravian Brethren, which has been in existence for one hundred and ten years. The brothers work together at trades, for they are not agriculturists, at least not in Holland. Their productions are sold at an established price in rooms which act as warehouses, and where are also other articles of trade which were not made in the house. The pay is the same for all, with the exception that married men receive a larger amount than bachelors. Those who can no longer work, the sick and aged, are supported in the establishment. The society counts fifty bachelors, eighty spinsters, and eighty families, all living under a common discipline. The Moravian sisters occupy a wing to which strangers find a difficulty in gaining admission. These sisters are distinguished by the colour of the ribbon strings of the cap; widows wear white, unmarried girls red, and wives blue. In the house there are workshops in which the women do needlework, while the better educated keep a school, to which boarders from all countries are admitted. I chiefly noticed English and German girls; the price paid for each being 400 florins a year. These young pupils are remarkable

for the simplicity of their clothing and the candour of their manners. A rustic perfume enters these old rooms with the sunbeams and the song of birds. I visited the cemetery, which has nothing very sad about it. There are divisions in it for men and married women, for girls and children. A stone and a simple inscription mark the resting place of each. This stone, laid in the sand, bears the name of the dead, followed by a word that signifies "departed." All the Moravian Brethren in Holland do not reside at Zeist, for several carry on trades in Utrecht, while others have set up factories on their account; but they still retain a connecting link with the society. This society has no written constitution; it is based solely on a moral understanding, and is more widely extended than might be supposed. In Europe there are said to be 100,000 brethren, who principally reside in the Netherlands and Germany. Despairing of making proselytes among other sects, they strive to extend their thoroughly Christian doctrine in remote countries. A picture to be seen at Zeist represents negroes and natives of India converted by the Moravian Brethren, and they have also missionaries in Surinam. When one of these returns to Europe, and takes up his abode at Zeist, his arrival is celebrated by love-feasts. The brothers and sisters, then living in the establishment, and those dwelling in the town, assemble on that day in the

church, where the pastor, generally called the Domine, presides. He sits in lay clothing on an old and poor easy chair covered with green velvet, while the brethren, male and female, are seated on wooden benches. The missionary describes in simple language what he has seen, and gives a report of his labours and humble victories. The organist plays a solemn tune to thank God, and sundry cups of tea are drunk. The hours I spent at Zeist were truly gentle, amid the beautiful and calm scenery that sheds a ray on this family life.

Utrecht is an unusually religious city, and here are preserved the fragments of these old sects which have been lost to a considerable extent elsewhere. The University has obeyed the influence of the place by making itself the ark of the old Protestant Faith. If we now leave Utrecht Academy for that at Groningen, it is not only the physiognomy of the town and manners that will change, but also the banner of doctrine. Groningen is the centre of the heterodox or philosophic action.

CHAPTER VI.

GRONINGEN—THE UNIVERSITY—HETERODOX OPINIONS—ROYAL SANCTION—DUTCH RATIONALISM—THE STUDENTS AT GRONINGEN—THE PASTOR OF MASTLAND—CHARACTER OF DUTCH LITERATURE—MUIDEN—THE POET VONDEL—A STORMY LIFE—THE HOSIER MAN OF LETTERS—THE TRAGEDY OF "LUCIFER"—DECLINE OF EDUCATION—TRANSLATIONS—STAGNATION OF DUTCH LITERATURE—CHANCES OF RECOVERY.

GRONINGEN, formerly a Hanse Town, and now the capital of a province enriched by agriculture, has wide streets, large squares, canals navigable by ships, and an old church, whose steeple bears some resemblance, though distant, to the steeple of Antwerp Cathedral. The Town-house is greatly admired, a large building erected during the French rule. Some houses in Groningen are distinguished by a quaint architecture, which has, at least, the merit of catching the eye. The walls are covered with a grayish and rough casting of mortar, in which pieces of glass are imbedded. When the sun falls on their frontage, these houses are lit up with a dazzling and peculiar brilliancy. Northern people feel the necessity of augmenting the

brilliancy of an avaricious light by artificial means, while the inhabitants of the south would guard against such concentration of the intensity of the sunbeams; they, on the contrary, build their houses in narrow streets, where they overshadow one another, like the trees in a forest.

The University of Groningen, which the neighbouring cities call with some pretension a second Athens, is a new and imposing edifice. The lectures are delivered in rooms that bear their purpose written on the door, *auditorium mathematicum, auditorium juridicum* or *chymicum*, as the case may be. The anatomical and natural history collections are rich in curious specimens, among which, I specially noticed certain preparations of the hearing organs, made with all the art of a skilful and delicate hand. On market-day, the peasant women of Groningen come in considerable numbers to this museum, and the interest they take in the manners of animals, and the different forms of life, announces a race eager for instruction. This desire for information is a consequence of the natural comfort which has spread education more or less throughout all classes. Among these collections, there is one that appeared to me unique; I mean a number of drawings of fish executed in China upon English paper, in very showy colours, and gold and silver. This iconographic series was obtained from the

Chinese Government by a Dutch consul, who presented it to the University. All these riches of the institution are placed under the care and superintendence of a *custos*, who is a thorough original, and identifies himself with the interests of science with all the ardour of youth. A library contained in an old building, lends out volumes to the students, and the University also possesses a botanic garden; but the positive temper of the inhabitants of Groningen does not permit them to cultivate science merely for the sake of science, and hence a kitchen garden is annexed to this botanical garden, in which useful experiments are made. The clinical lectures are given at the City Hospital, and delivered in Latin, so as not to frighten the patients.

The programme of studies, or *ordo lectionum*, affixed to the gateway of Groningen University, is nearly the same as at Utrecht and Leyden, but the tendency is different. Groningen is situated a few leagues from Hanover, and German literature and science have had an effect on the Dutch temper. Some of the professors are distinguished men. This academy lost a few years back a writer of merit, Mr. Limburg Brouwer, author of a small volume "the Reading Society of Diepenbeek," in which he ridiculed the exaggerated partisans of orthodoxy. What most characterises this university, in fact, is the colour of the re-

ligious instruction; and the Groningen theologians form a distinct school in the intellectual movement of the Netherlands. This school was formed in 1833, in the very heart of the orthodox city *par excellence*. An Utrecht professor, Mr. Van Heusde, author of the "Socratic School," and a Latin work, "*Initia philosophiæ Platonicæ*," sought to open some new perspectives in the field of religious belief. His ideas agreed with those of Mr. Hofstede de Groot, a pupil of Groningen University, a man of youthful and independent mind, who was also seeking a reformation within the Reformation. From the contact of these two men and the fusion of their doctrines, sprang the nucleus of a theological society whose seat is now established at Groningen. Messrs. De Groot, Pareau, and Muurling, men well versed in the history and monuments of Christianity, share among them the different branches of sacred instruction. Their ideas are not very clear, or at least very precisely defined in their works. An obscure thought, which is further obscured by a style more or less Germanic, does not at all satisfy the demands of the French mind; still we propose to dig out the essential points of a doctrine, which exerts an undeniable influence over the intellectual movement in the Netherlands. The Groningen theologians defend themselves against the charge of undermining the edifice of the Reformation, but they

pronounce themselves against synodal Protestantism. Their starting point is the formal negation of all human authority in religious matters. They certainly accept the Synod of Dort as an historical fact; but it could not, according to them, in any way pledge the faith of future generations. The Groningen theologians accuse their opponents, who stand up for an official church and religious tradition, of desiring papistry less the Pope; while themselves no more recognise a flesh and blood pope than they do a paper pope. Going back to the origin of the religious Reformation, they declare themselves for the doctrine of private judgment. The source of all light they find in reading the Gospel, interpreted in thorough good faith, but at the same time with all the independence of individual reason. Revelation, according to them, is only the education of the human race in Christ, and it is a fact that is still continuing. The epoch of the Reformation was one of the glorious phases of this historic initiation; but what the reformers began must be carried on. The Groningen school itself gives an example of this incessant revision of the Christian dogma, by rejecting the mystery of the Trinity, no trace of which, they say, is to be found in the Holy Scriptures; by denying predestination, that fundamental idea of Calvin, which supposes a cruel God, who enchains the human liberty, and by even setting aside the mystery of

the Redemption, at least in the way that ordinary theology, which they call the *theology of blood*, comprehends it. In order to give this bold doctrine a local colouring, the Groningen theologians have exhumed from the religious archives of the Province an Apostle of the Reformation, a certain Wesselus Gransfortius, whose opinions agree with their own.* The pretension of these new reformers is, in fact, to lay down the type of the Christianity proper for the Netherlands. Their theology is based, like that of the orthodox, on the history of Batavian Protestantism, but they arrive at perfectly contrary conclusions. We can only ask ourselves whether a doctrine that separates from the dissenters themselves in such essential points is any longer a theology, or merely a philosophy hidden under a Christian form. We have alluded to the darkness in which this school has enfolded itself; and it is not so much owing to the influences of the German genius, as it is the consequence, we are afraid, of a confusion of ideas. The Groningen theologians wish to associate two almost irreconcileable terms—rationalism and supernaturalism. Hence results a tendency which,

* *De Wesseli Gransfortii cum vitæ tam meritis in præparandâ Sacrorum Emendatione in Belgio Septentrionali.* Traj. : ad Rhen. 1831.—*De Wesseli Gransfortii, Germani theologi, principiis ac virtutibus etiam nunc probandis et sequendis.* Amst. : 1840.

although actuated by noble and generous principles, proves fertile in faulty conclusions, against which they struggle in the midst of shadows.

The voice of this philosophical or heterodox school finds echoes in the pulpits of the Protestant National Church. This influence is not based on the lower classes, among whom, on the contrary, the narrow, but firm and precise, formulas of orthodoxy count numerous adherents; the moral strength of this doctrine of liberty is derived from the middle classes. Young and ardent preachers agitate throughout the Netherlands the flag of the new Protestantism, which they assert to be in conformity with the national history of religious ideas. To hear them, it is not they who are turning from the right path, but it was the Synod of Dort that departed from the spirit of the Reformation. Science has, at any rate, progressed since that assembly, celebrated in the annals of Europe, and society must move on with science. At the head of the movement are Mr. Meyboom, pastor at Amsterdam, and Mr. Zaalberg, pastor at the Hague. Their election met with a lively resistance on the part of the consistory of both cities, but they were eventually appointed. On the day of their installation, both delivered, at the same hour and on the same text, a sermon, beginning with the words, "We come to announce to you Christ, and nothing but Christ." The two brothers

in arms had evidently come to an understanding, and they continue marching nearly in the same road. Some time ago, the King of Holland happened to be in Amsterdam on a Sunday when it was Mr. Meyboom's turn to preach. The king hesitated about going to church, and thus encouraging to a certain extent, by his presence, heterodox teaching, but he speedily decided in the affirmative. This homage, rendered less to the doubtful doctrines of the preacher, than to religious tolerance and the sovereignty of the opinion that had summoned Mr. Meyboom to the evangelical pulpit, was regarded in Holland as an act of some gravity. The old National Church was crumbling away with its fundamental dogmas before the principle of election, and the respect that the chief of the state himself had testified to the liberty of belief. The Word and the Conscience, twin immortal sisters, thus emerged victorious from the contest, although it is true that they had been subjected to the sanction of their age.

As we see, the inhabitants of the Netherlands, while perfectly quiet and tolerably agreed as to political questions, are terribly divided on the ground of religious opinions. The partisans of concord seem to calculate on the invariable attachment of the national character to old customs and traditions, as on a moral bridle which must moderate anything dangerous to peace in these discus-

sions. It may be that this fidelity is a counterpoise, but it also offers the new philosophical doctrines the means of introducing themselves by the covered way of the old institutions. Thanks to this immobility of forms and the progress of ideas, Calvinist Holland might one day have changed its religion, without even perceiving it. There is a grave and delicate point on which the orthodox try to close with their opponents—the divinity of Christ. The idea of the heterodox party in this case is glad to hide itself behind a cloud. Christ is to them the most perfect type of humanity, the envoy of the Most High, the image of God; but is He God in person? Generally they elude this embarrassing question by sophistries which are more or less scholastic. Some of them believe in the *Divinity*, but not in the *Deity* of the son of the Virgin. We will not go into these discussions, for so obscure and perhaps purposely obscure an answer is equivalent to a negative. We are, therefore, authorised in seeing in the doctrine of the Dutch heterodox school a sentimental Deism, to some extent attached to the poetry of Christian forms. They evince a pride in evangelical morality, they testify an historic respect for some men of the Reformation, but between their ideas and those of Calvin, for instance, there is the distance of several centuries. This equivocal and advanced position is sharply attacked by the orthodox

party : "If you no longer believe what our fathers believed," they object to the new theologians, "how can you call yourselves members of the Church ? Take off your gowns, leave your pulpits, and return to the crowd of philosophers." The dissenting ministers reply that they did not step into the Christian pulpits surreptitiously ; that these doctrines published by them in numerous volumes, were known, and that it is for the faithful themselves to decide what formula of religious belief best suits them ; they did not force themselves in, they were summoned and they came. Although now clothed with ecclesiastical authority, their sermons are not protected from a censorship. The faithful, who may feel outraged by too great a license in the interpretation of the dogmas can appeal to the synod, which has the right of closing the pulpit against the erring pastor. This guarantee certainly exists in principle ; but *de facto* the synod thinks twice before stepping forward to judge consciences, and, provided that the conduct of the minister is irreproachable, he is generally left at liberty to teach on his own responsibility what he believes to be the truth. Now the life of the heterodox pastors is ordinarily exemplary.

As much may be said of the morals of Groningen University. The students certainly belong to a well-to-do class, but their families are not so rich as those of the Leyden students. As they

are obliged to form a position for themselves, they already know the value of time, and most of them form literary and scientific coteries among themselves, in which they cultivate a feeling for the beautiful and the useful. This taste for the applied sciences is peculiar to the character of the Frison race, to which the inhabitants of the province of Groningen are attached by easily recognised features. The town itself follows the same earnest and honourable direction; during my stay at Groningen I visited an institution, at which public lectures are delivered, addressed to the citizen class, and even partly to the artizans. Four times a year meetings are held at which women are present, and on these days the Hall, vast though it is, is always full. This society, founded for the propagation of the exact sciences, has been in existence for sixty years. I was surprised at finding there a curious collection of insects, and especially native butterflies, made by the porter. A taste for natural history has here penetrated all ranks.

The Groningen theology has formed a school, and we doubt not but that it will exercise in its turn an action on the literary movement. We must ask ourselves whether, between the two religious influences, there might not be room in the Netherlands for a national literature, which, enlightened by the rays of popular good sense, the recollections of maritime glory, and the living

history of contemporary manners, would enfranchise itself from any mystical direction. The Batavian race is endowed with a powerful originality ; by studying itself, by drawing inspiration from its gulfs, lakes, dunes and overflowing rivers ; by idealising the life of the population that dwells on the seaboard, or in the dried-up marshes, it would encounter in nature a source of true and fertile poetry, which it asks in vain from religious controversies. There was a time when political interests willed it that the Netherlands should be isolated from the rest of Europe. As bulwark of the Protestant faith, this little Republic maintained its existence by keeping other States aloof. Such isolation was strength, but is now a cause of moral weakness. Entrenched in a family life, in immovable usages, and in certain religious and civil dogmas, the Dutchman too early persuades himself that Holland is the world. We believe that he would gain greatly by recovering from his error ; without abjuring his character, and while still doing justice to the good intentions of the various sects that dispute the direction of consciences in the Netherlands, he would then understand that the future of humanity is not contained in any one of these small churches. However, the religious movement tends to a species of unity through its very division. Protestantism possesses neither in its dogmas, nor in its external orga-

nisation, the means of reacting against the enterprises of individual reason. As the issue of private judgment, it tries in vain to establish a shadow of authority in matters of faith. This authority slips from it; the limits it tried to give to human thought are effaced like a chalk line; and, on all sides, the light of a religious philosophy spreads throughout Holland. This intellectual labour dissolves the ancient forms, overthrows the barriers that separated the various Protestant communions, and demolishes the wall of divisions and enmities. The ministers remonstrant and Mennonite, orthodox and heterodox, perpetually exchange pulpits; they preach for each other on Sundays; and the people, who follow with interest this religious contest, are accustomed to a species of practical eclecticism. What results from this and soars above these religious dissensions is a moral feeling, a lesson of true toleration, and a sincere, though vague, aspiration to progress and human liberty.

Instead of dwelling on the conflicts of the creeds and doctrines promulgated by the Reformation, Dutch literature would do better to attach itself to the description of religious manners. There is a poetry in Protestantism, as it is arranged in Holland, and this poetry is principally revealed in the country. There the pastor is doubly a father, and his children and his flock are blended by him into one family. He distributes to all the only

thing that man retains after giving it away—his thought, his word, and his heart. Other and more humble functions, which, however, are not without a certain suavity, exist in the Dutch Reformed Church; as, for instance, those of the "Consoler of the dying." Protestantism, by imposing on each man the duty of making a conscience and a faith for himself, developes, at the same time, the feeling of personality; and the result is, that different types, thoroughly expressing the character of the various doctrines, are met with even under the roofs of cottages. Religious life in Dutch villages supplied Mr. Van Koetsweld with the subject for a very pretty novel, "The Pastor of Maastland," though the author has preferred describing and bringing on the scene the divisions of the Reformed Church, to extracting the perfume of this biblical spiritualism, which is too little known.

We will hope, also, that Dutch literature will some day revert to a more human fount of inspiration. In order to regain the path from which it was turned by Bilderdijk, and others of the orthodox, it need only meditate on its history and the national memorials. If you proceed from Groningen to Amsterdam, you find on the banks of the Zuyder Zee the little town of Muiden. Commanded by an old castle, this town, reduced to five thousand inhabitants, looks as if it were rendered thin by old age; the surrounding country

is flat and marshy, and the old castle itself gloomy, taciturn and deserted. And yet, at the beginning of the 18th century, a pleiad of talented men assembled in this ruin, in the midst of a landscape that offers nothing poetical or refreshing to the eye. Four names survive from this great engulfed epoch—Hoofdt and Huyghens (father of the geometrician), Cats and Vondel. The last was born at Cologne, on Nov. 17, 1587, and his grandfather belonged to the sect of Anabaptists. Religious persecutions forced this honest family of tradesmen to quit Germany, and seek an asylum in the hospitable soil of the Low Countries. Joost van Vondel, then an infant, was conveyed to Holland in a poor cart, and his mother, along the road, dried his swaddling clothes in the wind upon sticks fastened to the sides of the vehicle. His parents established themselves first at Utrecht, and then at Amsterdam, starting in the latter city a cap-maker's shop, which flourished. There were two sons in the house, William and Joost; the former was sent to the university, while the only language the other learned in his childhood was Dutch. By a very common mistake, a classical education was thus given to that one of the two lads who, in spite of great travelling, and some happy faculties, was destined to remain obscure. Joost was brought up to the stocking trade, for which he showed but

little liking, since on the other hand a talent for versification was soon revealed in him. He composed odes, satires, an epic poem, and, before all, tragedies. At a later date, he acquired some knowledge of French and German, and being determined to fill up the defects in his education, he learned Latin, at the age of twenty-six, sufficiently well to be able to translate Virgil, Ovid, and Horace, into prose and verse, That was the time of Oldenbarneveldt, the De Witts, Piet Hein, Van Tromp, Ruyter, Hugo Grotius, Rembrandt, Huyghens, and Hoofdt. The latter, himself an historian and poet, had noticed young Vondel's attempts; he received him at his castle of Muiden, which was adorned by the fêtes of a renascent literature, and the frequently sung graces of the Visscher damsels. At twenty-three, Joost van Vondel married Maria van Wolf, born like himself at Cologne, and daughter of a laceman. Being thoroughly occupied with his mental labours, he abandoned to his wife the duty of attending to the stocking shop his parents had left him, but he did not give up business.

This is a trait of Dutch manners, which must not be neglected; a poet hosier, living at Amsterdam, in the retirement of his shop parlour, and bringing on to the scene at one moment the divinity of Olympus, at another the angels of the Christian Paradise. Contemporaries have

preserved for us Vondel's portrait; he was a man of the middle height, his beard black, and short as his hair, turned white at an early age, while his countenance, pale and thin during the first half of his life, filled out, obtained a colour, and became the type of an honest Dutch seventeenth century face. Up to this time all had gone well; but events soon assailed this firm and robust character, which the Netherlanders have frequently compared to the oak. Vondel's wife died, and his son came to live with him, and carry on the business. He behaved badly, and ruined his father, who, completely engaged with literature, did not perceive the turn that his affairs were taking. This son was decidedly a scamp; seeing a storm of bills of exchange ready to burst, and not knowing how to appease the creditors, he started for Batavia, and died during the voyage. Poor Vondel paid debts amounting to 40,000 florins, and found himself plundered and reduced in his old age. The City of Amsterdam came to his help, by offering him a small employment in the *Mont de Piété*, with a salary of 650 florins; and then, as the poet's head was not always present at his office, the pay was left him without the situation. This man had passed through every variety of tribulation and internal conflict. Brought up in the Moravian community, he at a later date joined the Remonstrants. Soon his best friends and companions were perse-

cuted, imprisoned, and beheaded, and he avenged their misfortunes by bitter satires and affecting pictures. He would have been himself dragged into their ruin, had it not been for the intercession of one of the Amsterdam magistrates, and the prudence of his sister-in-law, who made him burn the MS. of one of his pieces, of which he complained bitterly at a later date. He escaped with a fine of a few hundred florins. He remained faithful to the memory of his political friends, and the cause of religious toleration to the end of his life; but being profoundly affected by the dissensions which ended by swamping the country in blood, and wearied by the embarrassments which sundry Protestant preachers entailed on him for works now regarded as his best, he turned to Catholicism, which he finally openly embraced, Vondel from this moment did not cease to profess the Romish faith, and sing its mysteries with a warmth, that attests the most profound conviction. Hoofdt and his friends never forgave him for becoming a renegade to Protestantism. The poet's character became embittered, and he grew habitually morose. Sad and solitary, the poor old man had no one by his side but his beloved daughter Anna, who took care of and consoled him; but she, too, suddenly went before him to eternity. To these domestic afflictions was added the fear of the great journey: "I feel a repugnance for death," he

exclaimed. "I desire eternal life, but I should wish to be conveyed to it like Elijah." Vondel died in 1679, at the age of ninety-one.

Such was the man to whom Holland very assuredly owes its brightest literary gems. It would be a difficult task to give a general idea of his works. Vondel composed a tremendous quantity of tragedies, among which *Lucifer* is considered his masterpiece. The theatre represents Heaven; the subject is the Fall of the Angels, and that of man completes the piece, representing Lucifer's vengeance. The Dutch have frequently compared this dramatic work to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, to which Vondel's glowing and Biblical poetry offers, we grant, some impaired features of resemblance. Still we do not find in the Dutch tragedian scenes like the reconciliation of Adam and Eve after the Fall, a great and touching episode, inspired, so it is said, by a reminiscence of the poet's domestic life. Vondel has a solemn phraseology, a sonorous versification, and solid thought, but he is harsh and little accessible to the ordinary reader. He is rather a lyrical than a dramatic poet, and in his tragedies his choruses are most worthy of admiration. Still, the motive of these choruses is not very striking or varied, though some display real beauties. Another tragedy, *Adam and Eve*, is equally distinguished by remarkable hymns. Adam exclaims, "Oh daughte sister, affianced

one, which shall I call thee? Paradise has a thousand flowers which leap up to kiss thy feet." This young love in this young nature has a delicate effect, though it is somewhat stifled beneath a sonorous declamation, a defective taste, the Aristotelian unity, which is rigorously observed, though so ill adapted to Biblical subjects, and here and there by the incoherent alliance of Pagan forms and the Christian ideas.

With his beauties and defects, Vondel does not the less stand out of the past as the most mighty personification of the Dutch genius; and it is to his literary tradition that the Netherlands ought to cling. The feeling for the beautiful will be regenerated in Holland from the day when an author, imbued with the wants and spirit of his age and liberated from mystic preoccupations, opens a path between the realistic, creeping, minutely descriptive poetry of Jacob Cats, and the poetry of Vondel, who, loving the ideal and the sublime, soars too frequently above the human heart without touching it.

The regeneration of taste is, moreover, connected with the new birth of the higher studies. The two institutions which, with the Universities of Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen, represent education in the Netherlands, the Athenæum of Amsterdam, and that of Deventer, will teach us nothing on this head; for they only offer lectures cast in an invariable mould, or those

in which a barbarous Latin serves to conceal beneath the foreign idiom commonplace ideas and instruction. It is a fact, unfortunately too certain, that the standard of classical studies has been lowered in Holland during the last century, and we now know the cause of this decadence. At the period when the Dutch Universities shone with a brilliancy they have never regained, their institutions attracted by a species of sympathetic radiance eminent men of all nations, and they, to a certain extent, derived their light from the whole universe. At the present day, competition, and the affluence of foreign *savants*, are but little in the life of the Dutch Universities. We may, therefore, fairly ask whether three Universities and two Athenæums are not more than the Netherlands require. The suppression of one of the Universities cannot be thought of for an instant; the cities cling to them as to pages of the national history, and they are for them privileges, titles of glory, and sources of wealth; but, without reducing the number of Universities, it might be possible to keep up only one faculty at each. Nothing, for instance, would prevent theology being installed at Groningen, law at Leyden, medicine at Utrecht, and literature at Amsterdam. Various objections have been offered to this, only one of which holds water; it has been said that it would be inadvisable to unfasten the fasciculus of acquirements that

form an university education. It is not our intention to deny the solidarity of human knowledge, and we can believe that, under certain circumstances, young men destined for the various liberal professions gain by the intellectual relations they establish among themselves. All this is true in principle, but we have still to solve the point whether, in a country of 3,500,000 inhabitants, studies might not be rendered more effective by concentrating all the specialities at a single point, instead of dispersing them, as is now the case.

The sad state of higher instruction must have exercised a pernicious influence over the intellectual movement of Holland; but there is another enemy against which Dutch literature struggles, in the epidemic for translations. Nowhere are so many books published as in Holland in proportion to the number of inhabitants; but if we deduct from the annual amount of publications the prayer books, sermons, and above all, the translations, we find a species of moral sterility beneath this apparent fertility. The theatre almost entirely lives on foreign productions. Has not this mania for reproducing the ideas of others introduced into Holland a parasitic element which stifles the genius of national originality? With such a history, in which the feeling of liberty vies with the religious feeling; with a population deeply rooted in the soil and local traditions; with a

moral, intelligent youth, which is universally affected by a love of country: the Netherlands might most certainly have a literature living on its own inspirations. The incorrigible race of translators, the influence of mysticism, and the decay of education, are so many causes which have arrested the development of the national thought. The worship of material interests and the great activity of the public works have also turned minds away from a contemplation of the beautiful. Whenever we heard poetry spoken of in Holland, our eyes turned involuntarily to the canals, those arteries of commercial life; to the dykes, and the imposing spectacle of force subdued; to the action of man in nature; to the great rivers that have become obedient servants; to the struggle between land and water; to the power of matter and the grandeur of facts: for in these the creative genius of the Netherlands must, before all, be sought, even though we do not deny the value of the national literature in many respects.

CHAPTER. VII.

THE HEBREW RACE — JEWS IN CHINA — CONDITION OF THE SPANISH JEWS — THE MOORS — MAIMONIDES — A FORCED EMIGRATION — BAPTISM OF INFANTS — BRUTALITY OF THE PORTUGUESE — THE PRESENT KING OF PORTUGAL AT AMSTERDAM — MODERN JEWS AND TRADE — USURIOUS PRACTICES — CHARLES V. — GERMAN JEWS — THE AMSTERDAM SYNAGOGUE — CHARACTER OF THE PORTUGUESE JEWS — DE WITT — CURIOUS PETITION — GRADUAL EMANCIPATION OF THE JEWS IN HOLLAND — WORKING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

There exists a mysterious nation, well worthy of attracting the attention of historians and novelists. Born in the desert, the caravan is its emblem. It has drunk the waters of all rivers, from the lukewarm springs of the Nile and the Euphrates, to the icy waves of the Neva. It has hung up its harp, with its strings slackened by the tears of exile, on the palm trees of Babylon, the oaks of Gaul, and the black pines of Norway. It is ubiquitous and eternal, like the God of Moses : it built the Pyramids and saw the Parthenon crumble away. Its religions, political and civil, were concentrated in the Temple of Jerusalem : the temple

has fallen, but itself still exists. Having no country, it adopts the manners and customs of the civilisation it passes through. We find it again to-day, exactly as it is depicted on the monuments of ancient Greece. It at times borrows from the northern people their light hair, blue eyes, and dull whiteness; but it preserves beneath all these local transformations its ineffaceable character, its Israelitic features, and its serious and vigorous profile. Its chants, blended with the ceremonies of many other religions, fill the universe. Ever proscribed, and yet ever erect, it shows itself superior to oppression. Its patience has worn out all persecutors and conquered all legal resistance. Rolled along like a dead leaf, it has been traversing for nearly two thousand years the Christian nations, which regard it as a living testimony of Divine vengeance.

A generally adopted error leads to the belief that the ubiquity of the Israelite race dates from the destruction of the second temple of Titus. This was certainly the epoch of the great dispersion of the Jews, but authentic records teach us that the establishment either of certain families, or of a numerous Hebrew population, in different parts of the earth, goes back beyond the ruin of Jerusalem; the building of the second temple having only been saluted by the fragments of a people, most of whose tribes were already dispersed over the ex-

treme East. In Abyssinia a Jewish branch is met with, whose traditions stop at the history of king Solomon. What passed since that period in Israel did not affect these families separated from the original stem. It is the opinion of travellers and rabbis, that the Jewish colony in Abyssinia was planted there by the Queen of Sheba. China is also inhabited by Jews who quitted their country before the final catastrophe, while in Bombay alone there are five thousand of these Indo-Chinese Jews, who are principally engaged in agriculture and the manufacture of oil.* They possess no MS. of the law, but their religious ceremonies and faith in the unity of God have resisted the influence of the atheism that surrounds them. They understand Hebrew, though imperfectly, and pronounce it badly, because the Chinese language does not possess all the sounds necessary for the articulation of their primitive idioms. Some of them have been invested with the dignity of Mandarins. The date of their emigration is difficult to fix, but different circumstances lead to the conclusion that the Bombay Israelites settled in China at the period of the captivity of the ten tribes. What

* Gutzlaff, the celebrated Protestant missionary, collected some interesting information about the ancient Jewish colonies in the Celestial Empire. A work by the Abbé Sionnet, member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, may also be consulted: "*Essai sur les Juifs de la Chine, et sur l'influence qu'ils ont eu sur la littérature de ce vaste Empire avant l'ère Chrétienne.*"

appears certain is, that their abode in the country is anterior to the birth of Christ, and they learned His name from the Missionaries. India equally received, at a period that seems very remote, some swarms of a people now scattered over the face of the globe. If the traces of these old colonies were collected, and their traditions compared, the whole history of Israel, and as it were a species of living Bible, might be found stage by stage.

Such facts announce, therefore, in the Hebrew race two very powerful faculties, the necessity of spreading, and a marvellous tenacity in the national character. Other Eastern races, the Hindoo for instance, have perpetuated themselves on the surface of the globe, and maintained with the integrity of their blood a part of their religious usages; but it is fair to allow that these ancient families of the human race, through not having been displaced, have found in their country national limits which preserve them from the influences of modern civilisation. It is not the same with the Israelite race: mingled with other nations, with whom it associates without being compounded, it presents the historical phenomenon of a nationality which resists time and direct contact with social powers.

The Jews are disseminated over the whole of the East and West. Nowhere, however, did they find the conditions favourable to the interests of their religion and their race so completely combined

as in Holland. It is here then that the past glories as well as the future destinies of the Jewish nation should be investigated. Two classes represent it on the Dutch territory, the Spanish or Portuguese Jews, and the German Jews. The history of these two emigrations, the character they assumed in Holland, the institutions and manners that distinguish them, and the data that may be drawn from their present situation with reference to the general movement of the various branches of Jewish society in some other countries—such points it is sufficient to indicate in order to show the extent of the questions which the state of the Jews in Holland arouses, and to mark at the same time the plan of the essay we propose to clear them up. We will take as the framework of our investigation and researches the work of a Netherlands Jew, whose principal object it was to establish the historic link between the Jews of Holland and those of England, of some German provinces and of the New World.

It is impossible to refrain from recurring to the events that called the Israelites to the soil of the Netherlands. After the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans, some Jewish families settled in Spain, where they found the traces of ancient establishments formed by the ancestors of their nation at a remote period. A touching reason doubtless determined the fugitives to take root in the Iberian

peninsula—there is a striking resemblance between Spain and Palestine. These families prospered, for the condition of the Spanish Jews differed notably from the situation granted them in other Christian countries during the middle ages; and they continued to cultivate the sciences, letters, and art beneath the blessed sky of Iberia. Their intellect, developed by a social condition that went back to the highest antiquity, gave them at that time a real superiority over the other inhabitants of Europe. The writings of the Rabbis served in this age of barbarism to preserve a few pages of the old philosophers, and some literary records of antiquity. These educated Jews thus attained in Spain a degree of consideration which they could not lay claim to in other Christian countries. The invasion of the Moors placed them for some time in a painful situation: made a football of, between the new conquerors and the Christian population, they were on many occasions maltreated by both; and if some historians accuse them of having favoured the Moors, others assert that the Jews took up arms to defend their old masters against the foreign invaders. So soon as the situation became clearer, we see the Jews employed as interpreters and diplomatists, duties for which their education and quality as an intermediate race rendered them well fitted. This of course heightened their social importance: they treated with

the new comers on a footing of equality: their common origin (for the Moors form, according to all probability, a branch of the Semitic tree), their Eastern turn of mind, and their national language, drew them nearer the Arabs. The Jewish schools at Cordova, Toledo, Barcelona, and Granada attained under the Saracen régime a great state of splendour. Frequented by a considerable number of students, they kept up the sacred flame amidst the dense darkness of the age. Talmudists, poets, astronomers, philosophers, and priests, issued in a mass from these schools: the Rabbi Judah Ben Levi, author of a treatise on the Rights of Woman, the poet Gabirol, the famous Maimonides, and several others, whose names and writings have survived their age, sufficiently prove that fertility of intellect did not fall with the crown from the head of Israel.*

* One of Maimonides' most renowned works, is his treatise of theology and philosophy, bearing the title "Guide for the Straying." This work has been translated into several languages; and recently, for the first time, from the original Arabic, by M. S. Munck, a distinguished Orientalist of the great German Israelite school, residing in Paris. M. Munck, though struck with blindness, was enabled to complete his great undertaking, and his French version is accompanied by critical, literary, and explanatory notes. Maimonides seeks to spiritualise the material expressions applied to God in the Bible, and shows that it is permitted to seek the motives of the religious principles. Generally his object is to explain by reason the difficult or obscure passages in the Bible. According to one of Maimonides' biographers, M. Peter Beer, of Prague, the

The Jewish doctors held, especially in Spain, the monopoly of medicine, The passage of the Israelites over ancient Iberia has left a lengthened reminiscence in the hearts of their descendants. One of the lyrical poets of Holland, M. Da Costa, belongs to one of these ancient families, to whom Spain was for centuries their adopted country. Though converted to Christianity this distinguished man has not abjured his quality as a Jew. "While confessing myself," he wisely exclaims, "by the grace of God a disciple of Jesus Christ, I have not ceased to be an Israelite." Under the title of "*Israël and the Gentiles*" he has written in Dutch a curious work, which breathes a lively feeling of nationality. "Since my earliest youth," Da Costa says, "the history of my ancestors has been the object of my meditations and studies. The modern portion of this history at first attracted my attention the most, and it is with a heart and imagination captivated by the destinies of Israel that I have undertaken to explore the annals of its dispersion and exile." In this book, which besides embraces the entire historic existence of the Jewish people, the author dwells not without emotion upon the residence of his race in Spain during three revolving centuries, which he calls the golden age of

word philosopher does not exactly express the idea we ought to form of this "Eagle of the Synagogue;" he is rather a rational spiritualist.

modern Judaism. He adds, "The traces of this past age, and of the life of our ancestors in the Peninsula, constitute for the Spanish Jews a terrible but imposing reminiscence, veiled by an impression of sombre grandeur, as by a cloud."

Still the wind of persecution blew upon the Jews from all points of Christianity.* We know what the condition of this unfortunate nation was in the different states of Europe during the middle ages. Covered by a legal cloak of ignominy, separated from the other classes of the population by insulting decrees and external signs which proclaimed the infamy of an entire race, condemned to the lash and personal violence, the Jews everywhere purchased the right of living by intolerable sacrifices. Absurd and perfidious fables excited the mob

* This persecution began with the Christian Emperors, and spread to the Samaritans, who formed one of the branches of Judaism. The Jews were too numerous to be annihilated, and the very fact of their dispersion saved them, but it was not so with the Samaritans, who were established at one or two points. Contemporary travellers have visited the remains of the Samaritan community at Naplous and Jaffa (the old Joppa); they form about thirty families, which, comprising men, women, and children, may amount to three hundred souls. These Samaritans live in the sweet confidence that a considerable number of their brethren exist in Europe; they continue to dwell round Mount Gerizim, on which their ancestors declared that God ought to be worshipped, while the Jews put forward Jerusalem as the spot. The relations of the Samaritans with Abbé Grégoire and Sylvestre de Sacy, may be found in a French work, "Les Samaritains de Naplouse," by the Abbé Bargès.

against them, and vague rumours were current of children carried off and massacred by the Jews. Self-interest conspired with superstition against the repose of these unhappy exiles. After movements provoked by a fanatic rage, confiscation, pillage, and spoliation of every shape invariably terminated every act of this long and sanguinary tragedy. Everything was permissible against the accursed nation.

Spain could not escape from the influence of these religious and interested hatreds. January 2nd, 1492, saw the Crescent disappear from the Iberian Peninsula, and Ferdinand and Isabella, infatuated by their conquests, and urged by the arm of the Inquisition, then formed a resolution destined to cover their splendid kingdom with sorrow and solitude. It was decided that the soil of Spain should no longer be polluted by the presence of men who did not profess the Catholic faith. This decree burst like a clap of thunder, and carried consternation among the Jews. One hundred and sixty thousand families, established from time immemorial in the country, were about to be banished by a fanatical zeal and insatiable avarice from a country in which were the tombs of their ancestors. The Spanish Jews offered the king a considerable sum to prevent the application of this cruel measure. The monarch hesitated, but Torquemada interfered and haughtily asked his

Catholic Majesty if he wished to follow the example of Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Christ for silver.* The edict of Ferdinand and Isabella ordering the Jews from Spain was signed in one of the apartments of the Alhambra on March 30, 1402. The Jews were the only subjects in the kingdom possessed of large fortunes. They were permitted to sell their estates, but this condescension was a pure mockery. A house was exchanged for a donkey, a vineyard given for a cloak. The day for the great dispersion arrived, and on that day 800,000 persons, collected from all the provinces,—women, children, old people, and the sick,—took the road to a second exile, "And God guiding us," said one of them, "we set out." The rich defrayed the expenses of the poor with great charity, and thanks to this assistance very few of the more needy were converted to Christianity. Afoot, on horses, donkeys, or in carts, the sad and touching sight was witnessed of these wretched beings proceeding towards the sea or the frontier. The Rabbis encouraged them by making the

* The history of the Jews in Spain and Portugal has been written in English by a Jew, whose family sojourned for some time in Holland. "The History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal," by M. Lindo. Among contemporary Spanish writers who have treated this heart-rending history, we must not forget to mention the name of Don Adolfo de Castro, who, in his work, "Historia de los Judios en España," derived from the best sources, has displayed great impartiality.

women and children sing, and ordered the flutes and the tambourines to be played to sustain the failing spirits of the multitude. The great body was composed of artizans who honourably gained their livelihood by handicraft; and lengthened experience, joined to a cultivated intellect, had rendered them greatly superior to the labouring classes of the Christian population,

A blind policy thus deprived Spain of the arms which had raised her industry to a flourishing state, and of the men of talent and means who had diffused light in the midst of an age of ignorance. As medicine was almost entirely in the hands of the Jews, the Christian population was suddenly deprived, after their expulsion, of the succours of art. The manufactories of the Peninsula received a deadly blow; the academies, schools, and learned societies were destroyed. The edict prohibited the proscribed Jews carrying away gold or silver, but they secretly removed immense sums under their saddles, and some even swallowed ducats to foil the vigorous search of the officers appointed to guard the frontiers. Though the amount of coin that went away was so considerable, the moral fortune that accompanied this industrious and enlightened population was far more important. M. Da Costa remarks justly, that if the Israelites of that day had not kept their eyes fixed on Palestine as their sole and true country, they would have

been strong enough, under the circumstances, to overthrow the Spanish government.

Expelled from Spain, the Jews embarked from all points of the Peninsula for Italy, Morocco, Turkey, and the coasts of the Levant. A fleet of twenty ships bore a portion of these wandering families to the port of Oran in Algiers, where their descendants may still be found; but the greater portion proceeded to Portugal, which offered them a climate similar to that of Spain, nearly the same language, and a conformity of manners. The Jews had enjoyed for centuries a right of asylum in the ancient Lusitania, and some of them had raised themselves to a great social position under the wing of a peaceful establishment. They had besides done good service to the country by spreading the first knowledge of philosophy, botany, medicine, and cosmography; they had introduced the study of the sacred language, and assisted the Portuguese in the discovery of the East Indies. In spite of these titles to public gratitude, the King of Portugal only consented to receive the Jews banished from Spain, on very hard conditions; they must pay a sum of money *per* head, in return for which they would be permitted to reside for eight months in the country, and when that period expired, the king pledged himself to supply them with vessels to convey them at their own charges to those countries they might

select. Those who did not depart at the period indicated by the decree would remain as slaves. The captains ordered to transport the Jews did not spare them brutal insults; some ravished their wives and daughters, so that the misfortunes of this people only began with their departure from Spain. Those Castilian Israelites who, through their poverty or any other reason, had not left the soil of Portugal by the day fixed, were arrested and kept as slaves. The king tore their children from them and had them baptised; and as he was anxious to people the countries newly discovered on the coast of Africa, especially the island of St. Thomas, he sent their children thither, in the hope that, being isolated from the influence of their parents, and married at a later date to inhabitants of the island, they would become good Christians.

The accession of Emanuel to the throne of Portugal, in 1495, at length appeared destined to ameliorate the situation of the Spanish Jews. The new king set at liberty those whom his predecessor had condemned to slavery. The hopes the Hebrews had founded on the new reign were unfortunately but of short duration; for a marriage question and the influence of Spain suddenly altered Emanuel's policy. In December, 1496, a decree commanded all the Jews and Moors who would not embrace the Christian faith to quit

Portugal. This measure embraced not only the Spanish Jews, but also the Israelite families established since time immemorial on the soil of Lusitania. A day was appointed for the departure, after which all the Jews who remained in Portugal would lose their liberty. A term of three months was granted the proscripts, and at the end of that period the Jews prepared, with a firm resolution, to quit a country which they had grown to regard as a second fatherland. Emmanuel began to give an anxious glance at this population, which had been the light of his kingdom; for the banishment of so many rich and educated men was about to leave a great gap in a small state. The king desired at any rate to retain a portion of this race, which was escaping him by his own fault. He ordered that the Jewish children below the age of fourteen should be kept by force, and instructed in the mysteries of the Christian faith. Such a decree could not be carried out without giving rise to heart-rending scenes; and, in an outbreak of rage and despair, parents were seen to kill their children by throwing them into a well, and destroying themselves afterwards. The destinies of Spain and Portugal have greatly changed since that epoch. These two states, once so powerful, have seen their navy, commerce, and political influence decay. Most of the Castilian and Portuguese historians refer this decadence to the expulsion of

the Jews. "By throwing away," they say, "the help of useful and industrious subjects, Spain and Portugal condemned themselves not to reap the rich harvests which the discoveries in both worlds were destined to bring them." I do not believe absolute theories in history: if the facts appear simple, the causes are complex; but it is impossible to deny that the banishment of the Jews was a moral loss for the two countries, and a source of weakness. The young prince who now reigns in Portugal himself seemed to recognise this fact on a memorable occasion. Being at Amsterdam in 1854, he visited the synagogue of the Portuguese Jews, where he expressed tardy regrets, and condemned, in guarded language, the impolitic conduct of his predecessors, who, in the ages of ignorance and fanaticism, voluntarily deprived his states of one of the sources of public fortune. At the present day, the Israelites occupy a distinguished position in Portugal.

The emigrant Jews, who embarked for different countries, experienced odious treatment during the voyage. Some of the ships were so overloaded that they sunk at sea, and their living cargo was drowned. Others were wrecked on desolate coasts, where the wretched exiles perished of cold and hunger. One captain amused himself by landing a part of his passengers on an island where they were devoured by wild beasts. How

can we refrain from taking an interest in a race whose history is one long martyrology? The Jewish people was at that period the personification on earth of violated right and liberty of conscience, misunderstood or outraged. What surprises us with the modern Jews, amid such cruel trials, is the unswerving constancy of their religious faith. Their firm attachment to the law of Moses, under the lash of persecution, contrasts with the frequent apostacies of the ancient Jews, when they lived under the government of their kings or judges. Despoiled, wandering over every sea and every land, their faith became more deeply rooted through suffering. This is, partly at any rate, the answer to the question M. Da Costa asks himself in his work on Israel, "How is it that my people continues to be a nation, after the loss of all the elements necessary to the national existence?" The incarnation of the Unity of Godhead in ancient time, this people supported itself in the middle ages on a dogma, and the hatred which the human race had vowed to it. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews carried their learning and their industry from the Peninsula. In Italy they seized upon printing, which had just sprung into life, and they contributed to the movement of the Reformation by spreading, with the knowledge of Hebrew, those magnificent editions of the Bible in the sacred character, which have survived as

memorials of typography. Others sought a livelihood in trade.

Originally, the Hebrews did not constitute a trading nation; they were a pastoral people, and Israel dwelt under tents. The transformation of the Jews into a mercantile people is one of the most remarkable instances of the changes that circumstances can effect in the inclinations of a race. It was not till their expulsion from Jerusalem by the Romans, that the Hebrews generally went into trade. Several causes contributed to stamp this new character upon them, which has become with time more or less indelible. Declared nearly everywhere incapable of possessing land, the modern Jews could not devote themselves to agriculture; living under a *régime* of decrees, or, to speak more correctly, under the caprice of absolute governments, and deprived of that security which founds permanent establishments, they could not either attach themselves to industry. The only road open to them was trade; and as the mercantile profession was at that day despised by most European nations, it was abandoned to the Jews. When we reflect, we see all the absurdity and injustice there was in this contempt. Trade does not only exchange produce, but ideas as well; it is the bond by which the unity of the human race has, up to a certain point, been established in modern times. The

development of trade is associated, in the history of society, with that of the arts, sciences, and navigation. The modern Jews have been, in this respect, the instruments of the moral and material progress of European nations. At an epoch when the system of international relations was poor, the Israelite merchants accomplished an historic mission. Banished from France by Philippe *le Long* in 1318, the Jews sought a refuge in Lombardy, and gave merchants there letters to persons to whom they had confided their wealth, and these letters were met. "The admirable invention of bills of exchange," as D'Alembert says, "thus emerged from the midst of desperation. Owing to this mechanism, commerce was enabled to avoid violence, and maintain itself all over the world."

It is true that the Jews are accused of having abused their industrial resources during the middle ages, to practise extortion on the Christian population. M. Da Costa gives various causes for the interested conduct of modern Jews, two of which deserve mention,—the contempt of the noble classes for financial operations, which necessarily threw all banking business into the hands of the Jews; and the degrading position allotted to these pariahs of the West, which authorised them in regarding themselves as strangers, and treating the Christians as enemies. "Trade," he says,

"in the situation in which the Jews of that day were placed, necessarily took an unpleasant turn, and financial speculations degenerated into usury." The leprosy of usury was, in fact, the moral scourge that succeeded the old malady of the race. "The enormous rate of interest taken by the mediæval Jews," their historian adds, "cannot be defended. Their exclusion from all public offices and every honourable career, their incessantly menaced life, their property and means of subsistence left without defence against injustice and oppression—all this explains, however, why the Jews unscrupulously employed the only weapons left in their hands. Must we be surprised if they opposed artifice and cunning to violence, tried to foil the law of the stranger by calculating and deep intrigues; if, in a word, they protected themselves by the power of gold against the power of steel?" The abuse must not, either, efface the very real services the Jews rendered to the theory and practice of business. In the feudal ages, commerce was based on the military institutions, and lending money at interest degenerated into extortion; but we must not forget that, under this improper form, the Jewish financiers, at any rate, opened up one of the great arteries of social circulation—credit.

Many of the Jewish families which were expelled from Spain and Portugal sought a refuge in the

Netherlands. The Israelites had, prior to this, established themselves in the Belgian and Dutch provinces, where they held the whole of the trade. Different edicts and acts on the part of the authorities then expelled them; and even the decadence of the trade of Leyden is attributed to the banishment of the first Jews, whom religious intolerance drove from this famous episcopal city. When the Spanish and Portuguese Jews appeared in the Netherlands, no trace remained of the French and German Jews, whom successive decrees had swept away. The first attempts of the Israelites to re-establish themselves in Flanders and the United Provinces date back to 1516. At that period, a few Spanish refugees presented themselves before Charles V., the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, to renew the propositions made by the Jews to his predecessors. They asked permission to reside and perform their religious rites in this portion of the Imperial States. Their request was not listened to; on the contrary, severe edicts excluded the "new Christians" (that was the name given to the baptised Jews) from Holland as well as Spain. The negotiations were resumed during the reign of Philip II., and, as may be supposed, met with even less success.

In spite of these prohibitions and edicts, several Israelite families had penetrated into the Netherlands before their separation from Spain. Their

religion had, for a long time, ceased to be tolerated, but by performing their rites in the utmost secrecy, and assuming Christian names, they were enabled to live, and some even prospered. These Jews were most numerous in Amsterdam, where they established an academy for the study of Hebrew and Spanish literature. The ancestors of several families now settled at Amsterdam and the Hague, resided in the same way originally in old Antwerp, hardly a step from that ocean which had brought them, and which might sweep them away on any day like the jetson of a shipwreck. At length the Reformation, which the Jews joined with all their sympathies, began to agitate Germany, while in the Netherlands the excess of power had worn that power out, and the United Provinces proclaimed their independence. In 1594, the Portuguese Jews proceeded from Emden to Amsterdam, where they resumed their Israelite names, and were accompanied by a German rabbi of Emden. This service was not forgotten: the Amsterdam synagogue, through a feeling of gratitude that honours it, granted various privileges to the posterity of this rabbi who led the Jews into a second promised land. A monument, preserved in the same synagogue, testifies that, in 1596, a great Mosaic festival—the Day of Expiation—was celebrated at Amsterdam by a small community of Portuguese Jews. The burgomaster

of the city, having detected their assembly, believed at first that it was a meeting of Roman Catholics, whose worship was at that time prohibited. The civil magistrate prepared to disperse the conventicle, but on learning his error, he allowed the Jews to conclude their religious service in peace. In 1598, the first synagogue was founded in the capital of the United Provinces, and ten years later the growth of the Jewish population necessitated a second, speedily followed by a third. In 1639, the three churches joined, and formed a single congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews. The number of Israelites still increasing, and their prosperity with it, they built, in 1675, the fine synagogue still visible in Amsterdam, and which is situated in that part of the city where the Portuguese refugees first settled, on the banks of the Amstel. The relative degree of liberty the Jews enjoyed in Holland attracted from Madrid and Brussels several families that had undergone baptism; but as they had remained Israelites in heart, they came to Amsterdam, where they publicly professed the religion of their fathers.

This accession of Spanish and Portuguese Jews was followed by an immigration of German Jews. The condition of these two classes of exiles differed greatly; the former had succeeded, in spite of the spoliating measures of the government, in carry-

ing great treasures out of Spain and Portugal, and, what was still better, a knowledge of the great trade relations with the two Indies and the Levant, which they powerfully aided in spreading over the hospitable soil of Holland. The German Jews only brought their wretchedness, and the traces of their long-sufferings, but at the same time the firm resolution to gain their livelihood by labour. The municipality of Amsterdam were at first startled by this invasion of a different order of *Gueux*, but the Spanish and Portuguese Jews interfered; they promised to help their brothers, and gave the magistrates a pledge that these poor people should not be a burden to the city. After a few difficulties, the German Jews at length obtained permission to purchase the Muiderbank cemetery, situated at some distance from the city, and took up their abode there. In 1656, they were permitted to build a house of prayer, and, in the course of time, this population of German Jews attained a considerable development. The Israelites of Poland and Lithuania were also obliged to quit a country in which they were in turn exposed to the violence of the Cossacks and popular outbreaks, and three thousand of them landed at the Texel, and at once received the hospitality of Amsterdam. At a later date they were blended with the German synagogue. We find here the root of that division which exists between the

Portuguese and German Jews in Holland, and the two synagogues continue to be perfectly distinct and separate churches. The name of *Sephardim* (Spaniards) is borne to this day by the descendants of those Israelite families which had dwelt in Spain and Portugal. In the same way as the Jewish people has preserved its unchangable character, its individuality, and national faith among the nations with which it has become mingled, the Israelites who migrated from the Peninsula maintain, in all parts of the world and among their own brethren, traits that reveal their origin. What distinguishes them from the other children of Jacob is not merely their historic reminiscences, but also their social position. The Spanish Jews in Holland formed the aristocracy of their dispersed race: at Amsterdam they dwelt in the pleasantest districts, and helped to endow this rich capital with magnificent mansions. At the Hague, they also lived in sumptuous houses, some of which have even been converted into public edifices. These houses, which assume an air of grandeur, are collected round their synagogue, which is situated in one of the most agreeable parts of the town. For a long time they preserved the use of the Spanish or Portuguese language, as a souvenir of their glorious passage through the Peninsula, and up to the beginning of this century they employed both idioms in their domestic life

and mutual relations. At the synagogue, prayers were delivered alternately in Portuguese and Hebrew, and these strangers thus addressed God in the two languages of exile.

Several motives determined Protestant Holland to ameliorate the condition of the Jews. The Reformation, M. Da Costa tells us, was desirous of creating new and dangerous enemies for their persecutors. The principles of toleration, which were the fruit of this great religious revolution, also contributed to soften the policy of the government towards strangers who had lost their country. We are bound to say, for the honour of Holland, that her Stathouders and first statesmen professed these humane doctrines. "The primitive Christians," the great De Witt stated, "converted a great number of Jews by the use of gentleness and persuasion. We have changed our conduct towards them; but can we boast of a success equal to that which they obtained?" No country on the earth, moreover, was better adapted than Holland to the industrial inclinations of the Jewish nation. At the period when the whole of Europe still lived under the empire of a military organisation, this small republic of the United Provinces, the cradle of commerce and the useful arts, was based on the principle which the middle classes were destined to inaugurate in France, two centuries later, by bringing their men and their

influence to bear on public affairs. Trade lives by liberty, and the United Provinces enjoyed in this respect a constitution which guaranteed every man his rights and the property in his own labour. The geographical position was admirable ; the sea was all around, and beyond that sea the horizon of great commercial enterprises. Fleets, destined to protect the internal movements of business, and extend the relations of Holland with the whole world, overshadowed the land with a forest of masts. The very country, where the waters were suspended as if by a miracle, reminded the Israelites of the principal facts of their history : here they could, to some extent, walk through the sea dry-shod for the second time. Can we feel surprised, therefore, that on a stage so agreeable to the manners, traditions, and acquired faculties of their race, the modern Israelites should have acquired an honourable and flourishing situation ?

In the middle of the 17th century, the States-General cut short the disputes that had sprung up between the Republic and Spain and Portugal, with reference to some cargoes belonging to Israelites settled in Holland, and to whom the two Courts thought fit to refuse the right of being citizens of Holland. The States of the Netherlands Union declared that they " regarded as a Dutch citizen every Jew established on the territory of the Republic, and that their rights

would be effectually protected afloat and ashore if any further attempt were made to violate them." Further on in the same century, William III. selected for his diplomatic agent in Spain an Israelite, in the Marquis de Belmonte, which it appears was a special honour; for even if the Jews enjoyed in Holland liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their religion, and if their trade was protected, decrees excluded them from all public offices. We must not exaggerate the system of protection the United Provinces granted the Jews: for, as each of these Provinces was sovereign and managed its own affairs, the condition of the Israelites differed greatly according to the district. The Jews were prohibited from residing in certain localities, and even in Holland, where their position was better than in the rest of the Netherlands, they had more than once to defend themselves against inveterate prejudices. A very curious historic document is in existence. It is a petition, addressed in 1723 by the Dutch Jews to the States-General, in which they protest against the legal disqualifications that affect them. "You reproach us," they say, "with having put to death the 'Just One,' but if the whole posterity of a race were affected by the crime of a few in destroying an innocent man, all the nations of the world might expect condemnation. There is not an age, not a country, which does not offer

innumerable examples of eminent men put to death by the violence of some predominant faction, and that, too, most frequently amid the acclamations of the multitude. You add, it is true, that we put to death more than a man—a God. Even admitting this, we were ignorant of the fact; and your Saviour, more just towards us than you are, exclaimed on the cross, 'Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do.'"

The Spanish and Portuguese Jews, when once settled on the soil of the Netherlands, did not restrict their ambition or their intelligence to trade. Several of them continued to cultivate the sciences and literature. Among the eminent men educated in the Dutch synagogue schools, we must mention Rabbi Manassah Ben Levi, who was born at Lisbon, in 1640, and came with his father to Amsterdam while still a child. There is another celebrated Jew, of whom I was surprised at finding no statue or portrait through the Netherlands. A generally accepted tradition states that he was buried in the precincts of the New Church on the Spui at the Hague, but there is neither stone nor inscription—he is there, and that is all. This great thinker has left no other traces on his natal soil beyond his works and his name. Spinoza, for it is to him we refer, was born at Amsterdam, in the vicinity of the Portuguese synagogue, which was destined to become at a later date the stage on

which one of the most stormy scenes of his life was acted. For a long time he had been disputing with the Rabbis on religious and philosophical matters: a rupture was imminent, and it broke out. Baruch Spinoza was censured, and a number of Jews even threatened him with death in the synagogue itself. It was in consequence of his expulsion from the synagogue, and through fear of death, that he quitted Amsterdam, and retired first to Rynsburg near Leyden, next to Voorburg, and finally to the Hague. I saw his house in the vicinity of the Spui, the humble abode of a philosopher and workman, who gained his food—a little bread and milk—by polishing glass. It was while living here that, preferring free poverty to all the honours of science, he refused a professorship at Heidelburg, offered him by the Palatinate Elector. As an orthodox Protestant, M. Da Costa cannot be suspected of partiality towards Spinoza. He condemns with extreme rigour the doctrines of the pantheist, but he cannot refrain from admiring the character of the man. "All that we know of his private life," he says, "bears the same stamp of calmness, moderation, and dignity: with such virtues he might have been the ornament of a Christian community."

William III. was on very friendly terms with several Portuguese Jews, and memoirs of the time

tell us that he even received from Baron de Suasso, considerable sums to carry out his English expedition. His successor followed the same traditions, and held in great esteem Mr. Isaac de Pinto, a distinguished economist and author, who, during a national crisis, placed such large sums to the credit of the Government, that Mr. Van Hogendorp, the Treasurer-General, wrote to him that "he had saved the State." Mr. de Pinto also notably aided in placing the Stadthouder, William IV., at the head of the two India companies as supreme director.

In spite of the advantages the political régime of the United Provinces offered the Israelites for the cultivation of the mind and the silent accumulation of wealth, and despite, too, the degree of splendour the synagogues of Amsterdam and the Hague had attained, the legal disqualifications of which the Jews were victims were but slowly removed. Although from time to time clever men, as for instance, Van Effen in his "Dutch Spectator," energetically protested against these prejudices, it must not be forgotten that the Netherlands had not yet liberated their social institutions from the presence of the religious dogma. The laws, in accordance with the creeds and manners, sought to hold the Jews in a state of inferiority. The abolishment of the exceptional laws, was a work reserved for

French philosophy and the revolution. "A fact worthy of remark," says Mr. Da Costa with some bitterness, "is that the crisis which so utterly changed in France the position of the Protestants and the Israelites, was in great measure produced by men who were indifferent to Protestantism, and full of hatred and contempt for the Jews." I know not on what fact Mr. Da Costa bases this accusation: in any case, if the men of '89 detested and despised the Jews, they set their principles above their personal feelings. In 1791, perfect equality was proclaimed for all those who accepted the duties of a French citizen, and in 1795, the revolution introduced into the Netherlands bore the same fruit, not only for the Jews, but for all Christian dissenters, who were equally with them excluded from all public offices. This movement was regarded with secret distrust by a few Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who were enthusiastic for the House of Orange, and devoted to the interests of the aristocracy. Other Israelites, men of energy and talent, and strongly attached to the spirit of the age, formed a political association under the title of "Felix Libertate," whose object was to insure the equality which had just been granted to their co-religionists, and the revolution which was its basis. This difference of political opinions occasioned a schism in the synagogue, and it required time for the Portuguese Jews to

become reconciled to their new rights. The latter had retained a little of the character of the old Hebrews, who, on leaving Egypt, only revolted against liberty. The great mass of German Jews, on the contrary, proved in Holland that they gladly welcomed the French Revolution, which secured their emancipation.

This conquest at once passed into the manners of the nation, and resisted future events. The State had freed itself from the religious influence: it rested henceforth on itself and the interests of the nation, instead of merely resting on the Reformed Church. On the return of the House of Orange, the principle to which the Jews owed their incorporation with Dutch society was not assailed, and they consequently now hold various public offices in Holland. I do not believe that a progress inaugurated by the constitutions of 1814, 1815, 1840, and 1848, can ever be recalled, but I am bound to state by what hand this ark of the political faith may still be menaced. The enfranchisement of the Jews, that accomplished fact, appears to have no other enemy to fear in the Netherlands, save the party of Ultra Protestants, who, like Mr. Groen van Prinsterer, would like to confound what the Revolution separated — Church and State. The tendency to place the Jew under some legal disqualifications still exists; and I can convince myself of the fact by reading

the ingenious sophisms piled up by a poet inspired by this school, Mr. Da Costa, to persuade the Jews that they were much happier under the régime of restricted liberty and equality, than they are under the present system.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGIOUS RITES OF THE JEWS — THE SACRED ROLL — THE WRITTEN AND ORAL LAWS — THE TALMUDISTS — SADDUCEES — THE KARAIM — PHARISEES — A JEWISH MARRIAGE — FUNERAL CEREMONIES — GERMAN JEWS — WIERINGEN — DIAMOND CUTTING — CUTTERS AND POLISHERS — THE SOUTHERN STAR — HABITS OF THE WORKMEN.

WHAT is the present condition of the cruelly-tried Hebrew race in Holland? In order to understand it properly, we will first pay a visit to the synagogue.

The Jews having lost their country, government, and civil institutions, are bound to attach themselves to their ceremonies and meetings as the last links of their nationality. This is the cause of the tenacity with which they adhere to their religious customs. The synagogue is the centre of their moral life—the shadow of the overthrown temple. They have preserved the touching custom of praying with their faces turned toward Jerusalem, and the gate of their synagogue is placed in accordance, and opposite this gate is

the ark in which the Book of the Law is deposited. In the centre is a species of desk or altar, round which the choristers and clerks stand, while candelabra are suspended in different parts of the building. The congregation seat themselves on wooden benches; but these seats are not admitted into the space comprised between the altar and the ark, which must remain empty. The women are never at the same side as the men; they are separated, and to a certain extent hidden in a private upper gallery. The prayers are recited in Hebrew, and the chants have something proud and sorrowful about them, like the exile that has now lasted nearly two thousand years.

The principal elements of the Hebrew worship, are reading the law and prayers, which have quite taken the place of the ancient offerings. The copy from which the Pentateuch is read must be a manuscript, and be in the form of a roll; the ink with which the characters are written must also be composed of the regulated ingredients, for the Rabbis have minutely laid down the rules that preside over the transcription of the sacred books. On these books the whole structure of the Mosaic creed is built up. The number of verses, words, letters, accents and commas, was counted long ago by men who had at heart a wish to preserve the text from any alteration

on the part of the copyists. When the public reading is ended, two or three assistants take the sacred roll from the hands of the reader, and carefully enfold it in a valuable case. Service is performed daily in the synagogue; and more specially on Friday night and Saturday morning. The Amsterdam synagogue was, at the beginning of this century, the scene of an interesting event. A Frenchman, the Abbé Grégoire, had contributed by his writings, services, and his influence in political meetings, to the emancipation of the Jews. Happening to visit Amsterdam, he was invited to the synagogue, where the Dutch Israelites sung a hymn of thanksgiving to God for having brought among them a man, who, placing himself above mediæval prejudices, and moved by a feeling of Christian humanity, had dared to defend the cause of the persecuted race.

The religious history is known to us of the ancient Hebrews, that "stiffnecked people" as Moses calls them; hence I will confine myself to saying in what modern Judaism consists. The modern Jews have two laws, one *written*, the other called *oral*. The former was dictated (this is one of their articles of faith) by God himself to Moses; while the second is composed of traditions, discussions, and theological decisions. After the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, a great number of Israelites settled at Tiberias in Galilee,

where they held a council. Tiberias then became a second Jerusalem, where instead of erecting a stone edifice, the restoration of which, however, has never ceased to be the object of the constant prayers and hopes of the race, several workmen employed themselves in raising another building, which still remains standing after several centuries have passed—I mean drawing up the *oral law*. This law, as its name indicates, was not intended originally to be written, but confided to the memory of certain men: Moses was supposed to have communicated it to Joshua, and it thus passed intact from generation to generation; but as the centre of the nation was now destroyed, studies in a state of decadence, and the Jews dispersed over the globe, there was reason to fear that the traditions might perish, unless haste were taken to collect them in a book.

The first idea of this undertaking seems to have been conceived by the Rabbi Akiba; but the general opinion of the Jews attributes the plan and execution of the gigantic work to the Rabbi Judah, the Sacred, the Saint (*hakkadosh*, as he is called, or *the* Rabbi). Born during the reign of Hadrian, he held, in Palestine, the dignity of *nasi* (prince of the captivity), and he was the spiritual head of the synagogue of the country. About the year 190, he made a collection of all the traditional ordinances, which he called the *Mishna*,

or Second Law. The Mishna contains the precepts which, according to the legend of the Rabbis, Moses received from the mouth of God during the forty days he passed on the mountain. The book, divided into six treatises, is written in a concise style, and generally in the shape of aphorisms. The oral law, fixed, arranged, and commented on, became, thanks to this written memorial, a species of religious and national encyclopedia. The Mishna, nevertheless, appeared obscure to some of the rabbis, who tried to explain the text by more or less ingenious commentaries, which were collected at a latter date, under the title of *Gemara* (complement). These two books formed, what is now called, the Talmud, for which most of the modern Jews display a profound veneration. Without sharing their religious belief, it is easy to see that the Talmud is a curious memorial, displaying the grand proportions of Biblical poetry, blended with strange puerilities. This book is specially interesting from an historic point of view, and it casts a bright light on the manners, customs, antiquities, and social relations of the Israelites.

At the present day, there are two parties among the Jews : the orthodox or Talmudic, which adheres closely to the tradition of the Rabbis, and the other, more liberal, which, while adhering to the Mosaic law, tries more or less to shake off

the rigorism of the oral traditions. The latter consider that the Biblical commandments are exceeded in the Talmud; while on the other hand, some Rabbis affect to prefer the tradition of the oral to that of the written law. "The Holy Scriptures" they say, in their metaphorical language, "are a stream of living water; but the Mishna is wine, and the Gemara refined wine." As for the sects that formerly divided Mosaicism, they have become almost effaced in exile; that of the Sadducees for instance, which formed a numerous and powerful party, has disappeared since the downfall of Jerusalem.*

The Karaites, who only recognise the authority of the Scriptures, still exist, but they form an insignificant minority. Only one of these sects has remained standing, that of the Pharisees. Impartiality compels me to say, that the Jews do not accept the opinion handed down to us by the Evangelists, as to the character of the Pharisees, those conservatives of the law. "The Evan-

* A Portuguese Jew tried to resuscitate in Holland the sect of the Sadducees, who, as the Gospel teaches us, denied the resurrection of the dead. The Amsterdam synagogue was then the scene of the most violent contest that ever broke out in the heart of modern Judaism. The sect of the Pharisees obstinately resisted the dissenting doctrine, and the civil magistrates interfered and judicially investigated a book in which Uriel da Costa, the leader of the new Sadducees, denied the immortality of the soul. All the copies were seized, and the author was condemned to pay a fine of 300 florins.

gelists," they say, "were attached through their Master, to the sect of the Essenes, who were the natural opponents of those who resisted the new doctrines; they were consequently bound to depict Pharisaicism on the darkest colours." On reading the Gospels attentively, we also see that the Saviour, while reproaching the Pharisees for their pride, their affected sanctity, and their bigoted and hypocritical attachment to the letter of the Mosaic law, does not deny their great ability. They indubitably formed the intellectual aristocracy of the nation, and we must not feel surprised at finding this doctrine and influence in the modern synagogues.

Those Jews who stand aloof from this Pharisaic and Talmudist direction, draw singularly close to Christianity. They do not actually form a party; they are merely distinguished from the other Israelites by a more philosophic tendency, and a wider interpretation of the Scriptures. The majority of them regard the spread of the Gospel as a great Providential fact; they listen, as to an echo of their past and a foreboding of their future, to those national hymns which the different Christian Churches have borrowed from them; and they rejoice at an event which must pave the way throughout the world for the reign of their Messiah—the unity of the human race. On what motives, however, do they base their objections to

join the Christian religion?" They say that the Christ announced by the Scriptures must be a man, and not a God, or member of the Trinity; the promises made by the prophets from the beginning of the world, and which must be realised in the advent of the Messiah, are not all accomplished yet, because the human race has not vitally changed, because enmities and inequalities among men are not yet extinct, and because the universal peace has not yet set in. Lastly, according to them the New Testament offers contradictions; but it is useless to discuss these objections or produce them; I will only draw attention to the fact that all the ancient civilisations perished, because they refused to progress, while the Jewish nation is the only one that has resisted time by leaning on the immobility of the dogma.

The life of the Jews at all ages, is, as it were, enveloped in religious practices. Unless serious reasons prevent it, the Israelite infant must be circumcised in the week following birth, as is the baptism of the law. While quite young, he learns to read in the original tongue, the Pentateuch, the Mishna, the Gemara, and the book of prayers; but very few study Hebrew grammatically, or learn to speak and write it. At the age of thirteen and one day, the young Israelite passes from the paternal authority under that of the law. Hitherto, the father had been res-

ponsible for the faults of his son; but now the former declares, in the presence of the other Jews, that he has laid down this moral burden, and the son then assumes the name of *Bar metsvah*, or child of the Commandment. Jewish girls are emancipated at the age of twelve years and a day. Marriage is regarded by the Jews of both sexes as a sacred and indispensable duty; and young people who live after the age of eighteen in celibacy, except for some serious motive, are regarded askance by the Rabbis. Polygamy is sanctioned by the Talmud, but a council of Israelites, held in the tenth century, abolished this custom, which did not do in Europe. The ceremonial of a Hebrew marriage resembles externally that of the Christians; the bride's veil, the presentation of the wedding ring, and the species of dais on which the sacred union is accomplished, announce a common origin in both religions. There is, however, an interesting detail peculiar to the Hebrew ritual; man and wife drink in turn out of the same glass, which the husband then breaks, in allusion, as some say, to the fragility of life; or, according to others, in memory of the destruction of the Temple. The funeral ceremonies occupy a very considerable space in this religion, which so long remained silent as to a future life. When a Jew dies, his body is watched, washed with pure water, and a lighted candle is

placed in the room of death. The deceased, clothed in his religious garment, the *talleth,* is then placed in the coffin, which is left open. A ceremony, which is not without grandeur, and whose origin is lost in the night of ages, is then performed amid a religious silence. The relatives and friends approach the deceased one after the other, and implore his pardon for any insults they may have been guilty of towards him. The name of the Jewish cemetery is also well suited to elevate the mind; it is called *Beth Chajim,* or the house of the living, thus powerfully realising the dogma of a future life. Ranks and distinctions disappear in this common and final abode: the Jews admit no luxury in their coffins or tombs; there is no sepulchral architecture at the spot where dust simply reposes in dust. At the most the tombs of great Rabbis are distinguished by a mound of earth, bearing a slab, on which is an inscription to their honour.

In all the great cities of Holland, the Jews have a private cemetery. At the Hague it is outside the town, on the right hand of the road running to Scheveningen; it is enclosed by a thick wall, and overshadowed by the lofty trees of this delightful walk. A handful of earth, said to have been brought from Palestine, is placed in a bag under the head of the deceased, or spread over his eyes, that he may sleep the sleep of his fathers,

and recollect his country. When the grave is closed, the mourners silently retire. At this moment, says an ancient tradition, an angel descends and strikes the planks of the coffin, he asks the deceased which is the passage of the Scriptures containing his name, and if the dead man does not answer, the angel withdraws sorrowfully. I must add at once that a man may be a very good Jew, and yet not believe one of these fictions which are purely traditional. The spirit and meaning of the legend are besides very transparent; the Rabbis wished by it to compel the Jews to read and study the law.

When the burial is over, the nearest relatives return home, and break the fast they have observed since the morning. The laws relating to mourning are very short, one of the expressions of grief customary among all the ancient nations, consisted in a man tearing his garments; and the Jews still practise this rending. For seven days the Israelite, compelled to mourn, must not engage in any business transaction; he abstains from the razor and the toilet, and seated in a chair lower than usual, he receives the condolence of visitors. These practices are surprising; but when we reflect that the Jewish race owes its perpetuation, in great measure, to the observance of such usages, we admire the policy of Moses, and after him of the Scribes, who wished to isolate Israel in the

midst of the ancient and modern nations, by enfolding it in its traditions as in a coat of mail.

Liberated from these rabbinical traditional rites and ordinances, the religion of the modern Jews is not without some dignity. There are thirteen articles of faith, to which every good Israelite must adhere. The Jews believe in a sole and indivisible God, Creator of the universe, in the rewards and punishments of another life, in the coming of a Messiah, and the resurrection of the dead. A science cultivated by some adepts beyond religion properly so called is the Cabbala, a species of Eastern theosophy, in which a few rays of sublime light force their way through a great amount of darkness. There are at Amsterdam two Israelite seminaries,—one established by the Portuguese Jews of the seventeenth century, the other reserved for German Jews, and of a more recent date. Some remarkable pupils have issued from these nurseries for young Levites, which were established at Amsterdam after the downfall of the high schools, which the Spanish and Portuguese Jews had founded in the Peninsula. For a long time Christians were indebted to Jews for a version of the Scriptures; and even in the university towns, where Jews were formerly not tolerated, learned Israelites were smuggled in for the study of the Hebrew text. It is also asserted that the Protestant ministers, entrusted with the

translation of the Bible, availed themselves of their knowledge of the language, which the learned Anna Maria Schuurmans was addicted to studying in the seventeenth century. At the present day, since the publication of the works of the great orientalists, Schultens and Von der Palm, the study of Hebrew has become much more widely spread among Christians; and the Protestant Consistory of the Netherlands is engaged at this moment upon a new translation of the Bible into the national tongue. The existing one is, however, a real literary monument, and was ordered by the Synod of Dort in 1618. All agree in considering it energetic, majestic, and powerful; but it is accused of not being so correct as later researches into the roots of Hebrew may render it. The orthodox party, to which the name of Mr. Groen van Prinsterer must always be attached, and which is distinguished by a vigorous hatred of all innovations, opposes the new interpretation, which the progress of philology, however, renders inevitable. The Israelites alone possess the traditional information that can throw light on a text obscured by time. Hebrew literature offers, besides the Bible and the Talmud, copious evidence of the suppleness and penetration of the Jewish mind; and we shall probably surprise many of our readers by telling them that there are thousands of books written in Hebrew on

history, politics, and all branches of science. Educated Jews speak in terms of admiration of this literature, which is chiefly known to the German and Russian Israelites.

In Holland each synagogue governs itself, and provides for the necessities of its poor. As this organisation is based very nearly on the mechanism of mutual charity we have seen at work in the Netherlands, we need not dwell upon it. It will be sufficient to state that, regard being had to their material resources and numerical proportion (there are nearly 64,000 Jews in the Netherlands), the Israelite population do more good than the other religious communities. In the presence of a system of help so powerfully constituted, justice compels us to allow that the Christian sentiment indubitably developed and fecundated the germs of human responsibility, but that these germs existed for all that in the old Mosaic law. The Israelites have orphan-houses of their own, and on their front is placed the date of their foundation. But the Jews do not reckon like ourselves. They count the number of years they suppose to have elapsed, not since the advent of Christ, but since the creation of the world: 5620 years is the age they give the earth.* The Jews begin their year

* It may be curious to put against this arbitrary date, which makes the world so young, the observations of an English geologist who visited New Orleans in 1846, and made experiments

at the autumnal equinox, and it is a received opinion among them that the world was created on their New-year's Day.

There are in the Netherlands fifty Jewish schools authorised by government, and a certain number of private establishments. Many liberal Jews do not fear sending their sons to public schools, where morality has hitherto been taught without any application to the various creeds that divide the country: purely religious instruction was imparted elsewhere. This state of things has been lately sharply attacked by the ultra-protestant party, and, in spite of a vigorous resistance, a majority of the States-General seemed for a time disposed to follow it in this track. Some earnest and disinterested thinkers regard such a reform with deep sorrow. "The assemblage," they say, "of Reformed, Catholic, and Jew children under the same scholastic discipline was for them an excellent lesson in religious tolerance. In a country where sects abound, where division exists in division, and separation in separation, it was well that there should be a neutral ground on which youth could meet and learn at an early age

to determine the proportion of sediment contained in the Mississippi. As the surface of the Delta is about 13,600 square miles, and the quantity of matter annually deposited by the river 3,702,758,400 cubic feet, it would have taken 67,000 years to form this Delta.

the respect due to sincere convictions." The education of Jewish girls has been for a long time neglected in Europe, doubtless through a remnant of the prejudice which prevails throughout the Levant as to the condition of woman; for Judaism reveals its Eastern origin at every step. Such a reproach could not now be addressed to the Jewish families of Holland. Owing to this intellectual culture of both sexes, and owing, too, to the relatively happy situation the Israelites enjoyed for two centuries in the Netherlands before their complete emancipation, we find at the present day representatives of the Hebrew race in all the liberal professions,—at the bar and in the magistracy, in instruction and literature, the press and the arts.

The manners of the modern Jews differ in Holland according to the origin of the families that settled in this land of tolerance and liberty. The great prosperity of the Portuguese Jews has disappeared with time, but they continue to form a distinct congregation, whose members, attached to each other by the connecting link of recollections, generally hold an honourable place in society. The German Jews have also made successful efforts to raise themselves since the close of the last century.

Still, the mass of German Israelites, separated from the rest of the population, confined at

Amsterdam and the Hague to a special district, and almost exclusively engaged in the retail trade, have not yet lost the features of an historical degradation. If we enter the gloomy, narrow, winding streets that surround their synagogues in Amsterdam, a strange generation will be found collected there. The low doors of the houses allow passage to half-dressed girls, with their black hair negligently knotted on the back of the head in the antique manner. Sometimes an aged crone, wrapped in her cloak, as the Jewish nation is in its antiquity, dumb, motionless, and sitting on a rickety chair, will take a careless glance around her. The old age of individuals in the old age of the race has something mysterious that commands respect. However, there are no signs of decay. The children grow up vigorously under their ragged clothing, and it is among these poor Jewish girls, that one of the types of beauty most worthy the admiration of artists is preserved. Israel has retained, too, even in northern cities, its habit of living in a tent. The cooking takes place in the open air: the sound of the frying fish is blended with the shouts of the sportive children, and the voices of their parents calling out their wares. The sales are effected in the middle of the street, and the tradesmen have their shops on the pavement. Débris of housekeeping and the wardrobe, everything that has no

name in human language, the relics of every creed, crucifixes, and images,—they deal in all. The poetry of rags is displayed at each step, and they narrate the story of human lives. All the decrepitudes of coquetry, glory, and beauty, old gowns and old gold lace, are seen there in a state of consternation, and handled by the laughing mob that examines them. The Jews sell these shapeless rags,—they melt down the wedding-ring, whose gold is no less pure. In these muddy and damp streets, where a green sweat exudes from the pavement, and where rust-eaten iron-work is commingled with vermin-eaten rags of purple, a few shop-signs, written in a mysterious and dead language, attract the astonished eye. At times these Hebrew characters trace phrases constructed in the idiom of Israel, but more frequently the symbols alone are foreign, and the words Dutch.

At all times a charge of rapacity has been brought against the Jews, which is unfortunately based on undeniable facts, but, in justice, ought to be confined to the lower classes of the Israelite family. We must bear in mind that the condition of these classes has not at all changed since the middle ages: after compelling them to settle upon lucre as the only resource they possessed to bend the intolerance of their masters, all the odium of this obstinate craving for gain was cast

upon them. When we dig into facts, we find that the lower Jewish classes share in certain vices to a less extent than the abased classes that surround them. Run through the annals of crime: do you find in them many names of Hebrew origin? This species of moral superiority may be attributed to the perfect system of charity that prevails among the Jews, and thus prevents, by reducing the wretchedness, those brutal temptations from which the gloomy series of crimes issues. We must at the same time allow, that the principles of morality which form the foundation of Christianity, perform the same office for the Jewish religion. Not only do the rich display charity to the unfortunate, but a characteristic thing among them is the assistance the poor render the poor. On Easter-eve, their great festival, the doors of the most humble houses are open: a plate, a knife and fork, are laid on the frugally supplied tables, and any one who lacks food and a roof to celebrate this sacred festival, can freely enter and take the seat reserved for him. If he be a stranger, what matter? He is a Hebrew,—a brother in want; on that account he will be welcome. The virtues of Israel are especially domestic. The Dutch, it is well known, are distinguished by their family life, and the happiness and repose of their hearth; but on this point the Jews equal the Batavian race, even

if they do not surpass it. From the rich classes down to the most indigent, affection, tenderness, and kindly relations between parents and their children form the principal features of an Israelite interior. Frequently three or four successive generations dwell together under the same roof; and you cannot but enter with a feeling of respect their houses, which breathe a species of antique respect for old age and fertility—that blessing of woman. A race that bears with it from country to country the *bones of its fathers*,—that is to say, its traditions and examples,—must, above all, pay honour to the patriarchal qualities. Satisfied with little, the Jew easily submits to his condition, behind which he silently worships the hand of divine Providence. The spirit of order and temperance take for him the place of those riches which he is unable to acquire.

The distinguishing mark of the race is its industrious character; but we must distinguish here the features belonging to the two branches of Judaism. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews have established their head-quarters at Amsterdam and the Hague, where they have continued to cultivate commerce, literature, and the sciences. The German Jews, on the contrary, impelled by a spirit of enterprise and love of labour, less scrupulous possibly as to the means of gaining a livelihood, and more impatient to find a path

leading to ease and fortune, have spread over the whole of the United Provinces. They are met with even in villages. At the extremity of North Holland, there is a forgotten island, almost lost in the waves of the Zuyderzee, called Wieringen: well, I found a Jewish family here.* Time has, moreover, produced happy changes in the moral condition of the German Jews established on the soil of the Netherlands. Everywhere this race, so long humiliated, is rising, everywhere it is profiting by civil liberty and the progress of public benevo-

* Wieringen was formerly attached to the mainland of North Holland, whence it was separated by an inundation during the fourteenth century. At the present day it is not very far from the coast, owing to the dykes, which are constantly regaining fresh land from the sea. The green and slightly diversified soil of the island, the church and the quarantine buildings, form a picturesque landscape. The inhabitants are chiefly employed in cattle breeding, and the island supplies the Netherlands with more than 8000 *kilos* of cheese, and 17,000 *kilos* of wool annually. Though agriculture is the principal resource of these islanders, it is not the only one, for they catch eels in the Zuyderzee also. Another maritime trade has recently become profitable, and that is the kelp fishery. The ancients called *varech* Amphitrite's hair; but the moderns, who are more realistic, crop that hair for various domestic purposes. The fallen kelp is picked up, and that which is standing is mown on the State lands. Two hundred persons at least take part in this labour, which begins on June 15, and terminates in October. In 1853, 325,000 *kilos* of sea-weed were exported from the island, and it is employed to stuff mattresses and pillows, caulk vessels, cover houses, and manure fields. Lastly, the *varech* renders Holland a peculiar service, for the great Wieringen dyke owes its solidity to this vegetable cement.

lence, to shake off the winding-sheet of misery ignorance, and abjectness in which it was enfolded.

The Dutch Israelites have not exclusively confined themselves to trade. Amsterdam is at the present day the only city that possesses large establishments for diamond-cutting. This trade, first established at Ghent, in 1475, by a young bourgeois of the name of Louis de Berghem, employs in Holland a considerable number of workmen, most of whom are Jews. The efforts made during the last few years to establish diamond-cutting in London and Paris proved utter failures; for the operation requires most peculiar study and skill. When the diamonds reach the Amsterdam shops, those are retained which are fit for cutting and splitting, and the rest are sold in a lump to be made into roses, which trade is chiefly carried on at Antwerp. A great difficulty of the trade consists in determining, on seeing the raw diamond, what it will become in the hands of the workman. The stone is then covered with a surface more or less rough, which hides its real colour and the quality of the water. There are certain rules; but they are far from being based on an invariable principle, and the diamond frequently throws the workman out by the most unexpected transformations. Some yellow or brown diamonds lose their original tint through cutting; while others, on the contrary, change from a limpid to a brown colour

on the lathe. It is necessary to foresee these changes, if enormous losses are to be prevented, and such a knowledge demands a very sure eye, and, to a certain extent, innate talent. It cannot be acquired, but is hereditary, for as the masters say, a diamond-cutter *nascitur non fit.*

A company formed at Amsterdam for diamond-cutting has three shops, employing 600 workmen, without counting their assistants and the apprentices. The quantity of material cut varies according to the arrivals of rough diamonds, but may be estimated at 200,000 carats a-year, representing a value of £400,000.* The nature of the work separates the workers of diamonds into two classes —the cutters and the polishers. The cutters receive regular wages, either by the piece or carat, while the polishers pay rent for the rooms they occupy, and all the objects necessary for their work; but this will perhaps require explanation. Some thirty years ago, each polisher worked at home, and had a turning-lathe moved by men; the masters have since combined and built factories, in which the motive power is supplied by horses or by steam, and the workmen pay the masters a fixed sum. They have found a great profit by this change, and the workmen considerable ad-

* The word "carat" is derived from the seed of a plant called in Africa *kuara*, and which, transported to India, was employed to weigh diamonds at the outset.

vantage as well. The pay depends on the skill, and varies from one pound to four pounds a-week, and sometimes exceeds the latter amount. Were it not for being thrown out of work, the condition of the workers in diamonds would, therefore, be relatively happy and superior to that of all other artizans. Unfortunately the diamond trade being the first in luxury, is also the first attacked by political and commercial crises. When I was at Amsterdam the diamond-cutters were suffering terribly from the Crimean War. The men work during the winter till eight P.M., and the shops are lit up with gas. One day a week, Thursday, they work fifteen hours, to recoup themselves for the loss of Saturday, the Jewish Sunday. It is curious to see the indifference with which these black hands treat parcels of crystallised carbon, to which women and capitalists attach so great a value. Some of the workmen, as an overseer told me, might steal chisels or any other article, but never a diamond. The diamond-cutting masters, moreover, always pay double the value of anything lost. All the larger stones found during the last five years in the Brazil mines, have been fashioned at Amsterdam, in Mr. Coster's shop. The skill of the best workmen is a secret to themselves. "We are very careful," a director said to me, "not to let them know their value, or they would become too craving." It was here that the famous "Southern

Star" was cut and polished, by a single workman, in four months. They compelled him every now and then to break off his labour, and take breath on diamonds of lesser value, so great was the species of passionate attachment he had conceived for his work. I saw this diamond at the moment of completion—it was dazzling, and positively burned the eyes. Such works are not paid according to the ordinary scale, and the artist receives a quiet gratification, about which he is expected to hold his tongue.

The diamond trade is not the only one that prospers in the hands of the Jews in the Netherlands. The Hebrew race is endowed with powerful and varied faculties, and if they are not exercised everywhere it is the fault of circumstances. The two Israelite branches in Holland have been enabled to follow their inclinations, and served the country that offered them a shelter, each in proportion to its strength. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews, through their capital and relations, gave a mighty impulse to the great trade with Spain, Portugal, Italy, the Levant, and the Indies. The German Jews have rendered social services by discovering a commercial value for articles heretofore thrown away—in a word, both have taken a considerable share in the development of the Netherlands.

CHAPTER IX.

JEWS IN ENGLAND — OLIVER CROMWELL — PROGRESSIVE FREEDOM — PETTICOAT-LANE — THE PRINT TRADE — LITERARY JEWS—GRACE AGUILAR—ENGLISH SYNAGOGUES—RESTORATION TO PALESTINE — MENDELSSOHN AND THE GERMAN JEWS — THE WAR OF LIBERATION — THE REVOLUTION OF 1848—JEWS IN AMERICA—THE NEW YORK SYNAGOGUE—FOUNDATION OF SURINAM — A PROPOSED HEBREW STATE — M. DA COSTA'S HISTORY OF ISRAEL — RELIGIOUS AND MORAL CONDITION OF THE JEWS—FUTURE PROSPECTS.

THE action of the Spanish and Portuguese emigration of Jews was not limited to the Netherlands, for they are met with at nearly every point of the globe, where the Jewish race has raised itself to a high degree of intellectual culture—in England, for instance, and the United States. Thus the part played by the Dutch Jews was heightened, who appear to us the depositories of the most noble traditions of the race, and have not ceased to direct the movement of Israelite ideas. Nor shall we quit Holland if we follow a Netherlands author in his researches into the condition of his old brethren, whose ancestors shared the life

of his ancestors, and whose present destinies are a continuation of the same order of facts. In extending the range of his studies to England, some portions of Germany conterminous with the kingdom of the Netherlands, and several states of the New World, M. da Costa yielded to considerations which I am bound to indicate. There is a connecting link between the situation of the Dutch Jews and that of the English and American Jews, since most of the latter set out from the Netherlands or the coasts of Spain. On the other hand, the Jews settled in Germany, and especially those in Westphalia, maintain with the German Jews residing in Holland, relations of origin and moral responsibility which it is impossible to mistake. If these reasons do not entirely justify the plan, at once too vast and too restricted, of M. da Costa, they will serve at least to explain it. The historian has not troubled himself about France, where Jews, however, occupy a high social position (and Bou Mazas, now and then, too), doubtless because their emancipation now assimilates them in France with the rest of the citizens, and because they remain generally strangers to the traditions of the Netherland Jews.

The Israelites established in Holland regarded with an eye of envy the fine coasts of England, the markets and flourishing parts that opened out a new perspective for their enterprising spirit. It

was during Cromwell's Protectorate that the Jews took the first step to obtain a legal settlement in England;* and the Dutch Rabbi, Manasseh ben Israel was intrusted with this delicate negotiation. The Protector convened a meeting of ecclesiastics, lawyers, and merchants, at Whitehall, and submitted the question to them. At this solemn deliberation he declared himself warmly and openly in favour of the readmission of the Jews. An ear-witness relates that he never knew the Protector to be so eloquent as on this occasion. It was in vain, however, for the majority was opposed to the measure. Some historic documents of the period seem to indicate that the Jews had quietly returned to Great Britain prior to the Restoration, and then Charles II. established them officially; and immediately after their recall they founded a synagogue at London. Impartial history is pleased to recognise the fact that the Israelite families contributed to the prosperity of

* Some historians assert that the Jews began settling in England under the government of the Romans; and this opinion is based on the discovery of a Roman bas-relief found in London, and representing, as they believe, Sampson driving the foxes into a field of wheat. Although this archæological testimony may certainly be doubted, it is certain that in 1230 the Jews had erected a magnificent synagogue in London. The era of their establishment was followed by that of persecution; and the Jews were tormented, despoiled, sold, and finally expelled from England.

the kingdom and the growth of navigation by exporting manufactured productions, especially woollen articles. It is not till 1723, however, that traces of their incorporation as British citizens are discovered, and at the present day the Jews are on a footing of perfect equality.

The English Jews, like the Dutch Jews, are divided into families of Portuguese and of German origin. Contrary, however, to what we have noticed in Holland, those Israelites, whose ancestors sojourned for a long time in Spain and Portugal, are generally in a very unhappy state in England. Pride is a prevailing defect, and the source of their misfortunes. Draped in a species of hereditary dignity, they too often neglect or despise the means of obtaining a better situation. As for the German Jews, they have profited by the advantages of a lengthened period of peace and liberty, not only to increase their wealth, but also their knowledge, influence, and social relations. The moralist offers up prayers that these two branches of Judaism may come together ere long, for both would gain by contact and the exchange of different qualities. Some facts already justify the hope that this union will be accomplished, and that these vain distinctions of origin will be effaced on the soil of the British Union. We may mention, as a happy foreboding of this union, "A literary and scientific institution," re-

cently founded in England for all Jews generally, and which opens its classes and excellent library to the Spanish as well as to the German Jews.

In addition to the distinctions of origin, the mass of English Jews may be divided into three classes. The lowest category inhabits the slums of Whitechapel and Petticoat Lane, where these poor people deal in rags, broken glass, bones, and old clothes, and some work in the cigar factories. It is on a Sunday that you should penetrate into these narrow streets, where the walls are crumbling away with old age, and where gloomy candles, lighted in the daylight, triumph with difficulty over the damp obscurity that surrounds you. The faces, I confess, have nothing very encouraging about them, and worthy souls charitably recommend you to look after your pocket-handkerchief. The Jews of the middle class deal in toys, clothes, and so on, and the wholesale trade in fruit, especially oranges, is almost entirely in their hands. This branch of trade is not unimportant, for on the average fifteen millions of oranges are annually sold in the streets of London, representing a value of about £40,000. Very few Israelites hawk the fruit themselves, for the retail trade has devolved almost exclusively on the Irish; but any one, who towards Christmas visits Duke's Place, can assure himself with his own eyes that the market is essentially Jewish. Lastly, the bankers,

artists, and men of letters, form what may be called the superior class of the London Hebrew population.

The moral qualities of the 36,000 Jews settled for a shorter or longer period in Great Britain, have for many years occupied the attention of ministers of the Anglican Church, who in their works compare, "not without some shame," the virtues of the Jews with the depravity of the Christians. The Rev. Mr. Mills asserts that the poor Jews are distinguished by their temperance and hospitality; while a report drawn up by Mr. Grainger, the celebrated physiologist, proves, after establishing the correct proportions, that cholera caused less ravages among the poor classes of the Jews than of the Christians. The author attributes this favourable circumstance to the excellent morals of the Israelites, and (will it be believed ?) to their cleanliness. We see that in England as in Holland the Jew of to-day differs greatly from the traditional Jew. The cultivation of the mind forms with that of humanity a purifying feature of the Israelite religion, and schools and hospitals founded by the liberality of the members of the congregation, successively spring up round their places of worship. Education spreads even to the lowest classes, and free schools receive a considerable number of the children of both sexes. Remarkable men, and even distinguished women,

prove the successful results of the diffusion of education. I will only mention among them Miss Grace Aguilar, whose romances, novels, and moral stories deserve to rank among good works of the second class. What we are pleased to find in her simple and delicate talent is a certain perfume of Biblical poesy—a love for her ancient race, and that cultivation of family life which a skilful pen can express so well in the English language. The gratitude of the Jews to Protestant nations which sheltered them at a period when they were proscribed and wandering over the whole earth, has something touching and profound about it. The good understanding is not based solely on a service rendered, but on a conformity of religious belief, and a common notion of duty. Israel is pleased to recognise in reformed Christianity its own doctrines as to the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, the inspired nature of the Scriptures, and the practice of domestic virtues. Both creeds proscribe graven images, and nothing so much resembles a Protestant temple as a synagogue. The Jews appeal to the authority of Christ as confirming the bond that unites them to the Anglican Church; for the Gospel says, Salvation comes of the Jews. The three great creeds that cover the world with their influence, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Mohammedism, issued from Judaism as a common origin. A

river must not deny its source, or a tree despise its roots.

The English synagogues govern themselves by a species of small elective parliaments, the members of which are renewed annually. Although attached by great interests to Great Britain, the English Israelites still keep their eyes and heart turned toward their own country—the land of Canaan. Jewish families form the living stones of the Temple; and so long as these stones remain erect, even though dispersed, the hope of a reconstruction is not extinct. Besides, according to their views, the prophecies must be fulfilled; and the events of the Crimean war revived these hopes. A memorial was sent on that occasion by some English Jews to the Lord Mayor of London, asking him to call a meeting, tending to favour the restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem. In this memorial it was stated that a conflict between the two great Christian powers, touching the rights of each over the Holy Land, was the cause of the war. These rights will remain unsettled so long as the religious feelings of the two great rival powers are based on the present state of things. The consequence is, that the dispute may be renewed any day, and burst into a general conflagration: but the Jewish people, through its ancient occupancy of the land, as well as the Divine promise of restoration it received, is the only legitimate owner

of the Holy Land. This circumstance was lost out of sight during the war, but will not escape the eyes of the Omnipotent during a time of peace. At the present day, the friendly relations of England and France, and of those two nations with Turkey, offer an opportunity, favourable beyond all expectation, to realise the avowed designs of God—the renationalisation of the Jews in Judea.

I thought it right to quote this request as an example of the lively faith of the Jews in the imperishable existence of their country. This noble feeling has resisted in the modern Jews the influences of time, and every sort of torture and exile. A people that can be followed through history by a blood-stain, and which, nevertheless, hands down to its children from generation to generation a national religion which is the cause of all its misfortunes, does not merit that contempt with which it is still overwhelmed in some parts of the world. In the eyes of believers, this long humiliation is a chastisement—in the eyes of thinkers it is a trial. The Jews have given for centuries a grand lesson to all the nations of the world, which may lose in a day their government, their laws, and their natal soil. In taking with it its traditions, histories, respect for ancestry, and hope, Israel had its country attached to its feet. Strong in its popular faith, it has undergone all sorts of

servitude, but accepted none ; dispersed, ill-treated, and wandering over every sea and every land, the Jews incarnated in themselves the liberty of conscience and their claim to nationality. Every race which thus suffers for its rights, has a proud mission in history.

Germany during later years has been the centre of a vast Israelite movement. The establishment of the Jews in the German States goes back to remote ages. The synagogue of Worms is one of the most ancient in the world ; and it is supposed to have been built contemporaneously with the second Temple of Jerusalem. Two ever-burning lamps are found in this synagogue, sacred to the memory of two martyrs who sacrificed their lives to defend the other Jews. The great antiquity of the Worms synagogue, however, rests more on tradition than historical documents ; and it is more reasonable to believe that the Jews arrived in Germany immediately after the destruction of the second Temple. The German Israelites lived for a long time in unmerited abjectness. Lessing was one of the first to attack in Germany the popular prejudice against Judaism ; but the rehabilitation of the Jews is principally owing to Mendelssohn, an ancestor of the celebrated composer. Mendelssohn, born at Dessau, in 1729, of poor parentage, magnificently raised the honour of his race by courageous essays. A philosopher

formed in the school of Plato and Maimonides, he taught his fellow citizens how much intellectual vigour had been so long kept back in this Judaic branch. During the 16th and 17th centuries, ignorance appears to have been the fatal inheritance of the Jews; but the movement of the first French Revolution aided the cause of the Jews in the greater portion of Germany, but especially in Westphalia. These legal conquests were, nevertheless, subjected to historic changes; and in the interval between 1813 and 1856 two periods may be noticed, each animated by a contrary movement: a period of reaction against French ideas, which attained its culminating point in 1820; and a period of renaissance for the principles of '89, which commenced with the Revolution of 1830. It was not merely in the German monarchical States that the reaction against the rights acquired by the Jews was displayed from 1813 to 1830, for the free cities of Frankfort, Lübeck, and Bremen adopted measures to restrict the liberties, which the Israelite inhabitants had enjoyed for several years. In 1830 a generation of liberal Jews sprang up almost through the whole of Germany, and their ideas spread and were developed with an energy hitherto unknown. United by heart and interests to the principles of Young Germany, this new Judaism strengthened the party of movement, and claimed the complete

emancipation of the Jews. 1848 broke out amid this moral fermentation, and the liberal Jews of all shades played a great part in the events of that year in Bohemia and Hungary. Most of the papers in best circulation in Prussia and Austria were edited by Israelites; and several Hebrew deputies sat in the Frankfort Diet and the Prussian National Assembly. From whatever side we regard the events of that period, we must allow that the Jews displayed great talent in the most various directions. The Revolution of 1848, moreover, ameliorated the condition of the Jews in Germany. "Up to that period," writes Mr. Da Costa, "the political rights granted the German Jews had been so restricted by exceptional and provisional measures, that the old exclusion, though modified, was not destroyed: on the contrary, it continued to form a part of the constitution."

Germany has also produced many Jewish celebrities in the arts, letters, sciences, and finance. In a street in Frankfort, inhabited by Israelites, you were shown a few years ago a small house; and in that house an old woman of venerable demeanour, seated in an easy-chair by the side of a narrow window—this woman was the mother of the Rothschilds. Numerous Israelite schools cover Germany, and education softens the manners. One of the accusations on which the prejudice

still existing against the Jews is based, is the hatred they are supposed to entertain for Christians. I have before me a public document which disproves with victorious authority this too generally accepted opinion. In the Jewish Catechism of Bavaria, accepted by the synagogue, and which may therefore be regarded as the expression of the feelings of the Hebrew Church, I find in the chapter of duties this question: "Are the laws that regulate one Jew's humanity toward another Jew, applicable to non-Christians?" Answer: "Certainly; for the fundamental law of duty, 'love thy neighbour as thyself,' extends to non-Israelites and Gentiles. It is written, in fact: 'And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.' (Num. xx. 33, 34.)" This formal declaration is, in my opinion, sufficient to disarm religious hatred, and give an elevated idea of the morality of modern Jews.

The same bond of a common origin that connects the Jewish population of Holland with the Israelite families of England or Germany, also draws it nearer to the Israelites of the New World. When the children of Jacob were banished from Spain, several of them, instead of proceeding to

Holland, sought an asylum in another hemisphere; for the discovery of America opened a vast field for their commercial enterprises. In the following centuries many of the Israelite families dispersed through the various states of Europe, but especially in the Netherlands, turned their eyes to this new Holy Land, where liberty had erected her temple. The Jews began settling in New York about the year 1656, and several tombstones bearing Hebrew inscriptions, and dating from two centuries ago, still remain standing in one of the cemeteries of that city. At the present day, synagogues are spread over an immense extent of territory, from the snow plains of Canada to the parched steppes of Guiana, and these synagogues, independent of each other, settle their own affairs. At New York, Philadelphia, and indeed all the great cities of the Union, there are schools, places of worship, and societies to ameliorate the condition of the Jews. They have prospered in the United States, and hence love that adopted country as much as the other citizens do, with whom they share the fruits of liberty. A great number of them, indeed all those who could bear arms, joined the Americans, when the war of Independence broke out, and the zeal with which they defended the liberty of their new country has been commemorated by most historians of the New World. One of the motives

that contributed, during the military ages, to render the Jews contemptible in the sight of Christians, was precisely their absence from the army. This absence did not emanate from themselves, however; being generally forbidden to carry arms, they, on the contrary, submitted with regret to the inaction and neutrality violently imposed on them by the prejudices of the age. The courage of races, moreover, is in a ratio with the place they occupy in the social edifice, and the advantages accorded to them. Reduced to a nomadic and vagabond condition, the mediæval Jews necessarily showed themselves indifferent to the conflicts that advanced or decreased the limits of states. At the present day things are greatly changed, and as soon as the Israelites of the Old and New World possessed altars and homes, they rose with the whole nation to defend them. In those European states, where the law allows them to serve, the modern Hebrews have proved that the antique valour of their pastoral and warlike race was not at all enfeebled by trade habits. During the war Germany carried on, from 1813 to 1815, to reconquer her nationality, 17,000 Israelites fought under the Austrian flag. At the siege of Antwerp, in 1832, the citadel counted among its defenders a great number of Jews, to whose noble conduct the Dutch General Chassé afterwards rendered brilliant homage. These two

facts, and I could quote others, prove that if the Israelites proved themselves so patient and inoffensive under the hand of the Government that smote them, it must not be attributed to a feeling of pusillanimity.

America also offers the curious spectacle of a race peculiarly agricultural, but torn from the soil of its fathers, and restricted to trade, returning after the lapse of centuries to field labour. The Israelites have contributed to a very great extent in the clearing of the deserts of the New World; when the colonisation of Georgia was undertaken in 1732, Jews possessing no other fortune but their industry, no other country but the tomb, turned their attention to this land, where each, under the shadow of his own vine and fig tree, could adore the God of his fathers, without fear of ill-treatment from other men. In 1733, forty Israelite emigrants embarked at London, and proceeded to Savannah, where in the midst of savages and under the shadow of the black forests of Georgia, Jehovah received the prayers of His people in the language of Isaac and Jacob. This colony prospered. In 1816, a young man arrived from Great Britain at New York, seeking an asylum; he was a Jew of the name of Joseph Jonas, and he settled at Cincinnati, a town at that day of six thousand souls, with not a single Jew among them. At the present day,

a great number of Jewish families are flourishing at Cincinnati, where they have founded a synagogue.

Several Portuguese Jews emigrated to Brazil a considerable period after the discovery of America, and their numbers were increased after the proscription in the Peninsula. So soon as the Dutch became masters of that rich country, many Netherland Jews also proceeded to the scene of conquest. Abbé Raynal attributes in great measure to their agricultural industry the fertility which thus enriched this equatorial country, and the diamond cutting trade of Amsterdam appears to date from that period. When the Portuguese recaptured Brazil, the Israelites took refuge in the English or Dutch West India Islands, or in Holland. David Nassi, and some other Portuguese Jews who returned from Brazil to the Netherlands, obtained from the Dutch West India Company a charter to establish a colony in Cayenne, whither Israelite families from Amsterdam, Leghorn, and other European cities proceeded. They laid the foundation of the colony of Surinam, and have remained there ever since. We see that wherever the facts are favourable, and the Jews enjoy the same advantages as other men, they willingly apply themselves to agriculture and the useful arts; and if they did not evince the same aptitude in the Old World, it was because the law reduced them to

the condition of travellers. They prospered splendidly at Surinam, and even defended that colony against a squadron of Louis XIV. The Surinam Jews possessed a great number of commercial agencies in Amsterdam; but all this grandeur disappeared with the war of 1780 against the English, which was short but disastrous for the Netherlands.

In the United States, the Jews are admissible to all public offices, and a great number of them figure in the law courts, the municipalities, and the Congress. A constitution that places creeds beyond the power of the State, and God in a man's conscience, a land which everywhere offers itself to man's labouring hand, and where nature elevates all sects to the contemplation of the true and the beautiful — these advantages inspired a Jew a few years back with the idea of founding an Israelite state in the New World. This proposition caused an immense stir among the Hebrew theologians and professors of Germany, and, after a long discussion, in which Jews from the whole of Europe and America took part, the project was rejected. It was decided that the reconstruction of the Hebrew nationality must take place at Jerusalem, and nowhere else. I will not go into the motives which, in addition to the religious point of view, doubtless produced a negative resolution.

Here the history of the modern Jews breaks off, if we wish to remain within the limits traced by

M. Da Costa, the Dutch annalist of Israel. We may perhaps feel surprised that while discussing the general destinies of the Israelite branch, the author did not extend his researches to Poland, Hungary, and Turkey, where the Jews are very numerous, and are, moreover, distinguished from the rest of the population by peculiar features. M. Da Costa has merely studied the vicissitudes of the Jewish race beyond the Netherlands in the relations they offer with the history of the Dutch Israelites, and, most indubitably, a real history of Israel still remains to be written. There is also something singular in the personal situation of the author, a Jew converted to Christianity, and defending the cause of his old brethren. M. Da Costa would doubtless reply, with Bossuet, that the Christian is a "perfected Jew," and that although grace has fallen on him, he has not on that account lost the right of remembering his birth, and his people, torn into rags and sent, like the body of the Levite, to all the tribes of the earth. He pities the fate of Israel, which, blinded by false teachers, refuses to see in the Gospel the realisation of prophecies; but, as himself had lived in that error, he continues to take an interest in a species of providential race, which was the stem of human redemption. Supported by the faith of Christ, who came "not to destroy the law of Moses, but to fulfil it," M. Da Costa regards

himself as the enlightened and logical continued of his old writings. His position as a converted Jew, however, injures the liberty of his views as historian, and his work, which is distinguished by several eloquent pages, does not arrive at any conclusion.

Still, the history of the Jews, even if limited to Holland, is sufficient to justify a few reflections as to their present state and their future. The children of Jacob suffered so long because they considered themselves strangers in the midst of the other peoples. They did not sojourn in the different Christian states, but passed through them, and as travellers sought the future city. Confidently relying on their faith in the advent of Christ, they longed for the blessed moment when Israel would be reunited from the four corners of the world, and restored to the land of its fathers. When the Israelites arrived in Holland, themselves only claimed temporary hospitality, and all they asked of the Christian authorities was "an exile not too harsh." The emancipation of the Jews, a work of recent years, has consequently modified their ideas and feelings: treated like other citizens, admitted to all the rights and advantages of social life, they have ended by discovering that, after all, captivity possessed some charms. Most of them assimilated themselves with great ardour to the nations that adopted

them. Hence two consequences arise—first, a modification of their religious doctrines, and next, a weakening of their spirit as a race. Ought the Jews to fear or desire these results? The reply to this question embraces not only the destinies of Judaism in the Germanic and Anglo-Saxon countries, but over the whole world.

In the religious department, it is plain that an agreement of the Israelite doctrines with the condition the Jews have attained through the conquest of civil liberty and equality, is most desirable. Some teachers of the old law may be terrified at this result, but the philosopher and all enlightened Israelites must rejoice at it. The abolition of legal disqualifications and insults has already produced happy results; and the Israelites now-a-days hardly separate their interests from those of the Christian population. Civilisation can only gain by a reconciliation which ensures it the aid of a powerful and enlightened race. Without renouncing the God of their fathers, the modern Jews will themselves find in more frequent contact with other moral doctrines, a means for shaking off the bonds and shackles in which the exclusive rigorism of the Talmudists has hitherto held them. Thus liberated from the superfetations of the oral law, Judaism can adapt itself without any difficulty to the movement of Christian society.

Is not a modification of the national prejudices equally desirable? The Jewish race, isolated from other races by legal exceptions and limits, has retained under all climates a distinct nationality and invariable type. It will be no longer thus when, becoming mixed up with the different peoples of the earth on the terrain of political liberty, it has blended the creeds, customs, perhaps even the blood of Israel with the life of the Gentiles. Why should we complain of this? races have only temporary functions in the physiology of humanity. The Jews were in the middle ages the promoters of commerce, but now that speciality no longer belongs to them. The Jewish type, that flexible type which resisted while yielding, which bent itself, without undergoing any alteration, to the various transformations of times and places, is at this moment undergoing a perfectly new trial, that of toleration; but if it emerge from it modified, the Israelite branch will still be enabled to keep its originality. It is sufficient for the chosen people to know how to reconcile its faith in the moral indestructibility of its country with the lessons and blessings of liberty—in a word, it must take advantage of the lessons of exile in religious as in civil life. Its laws, customs, and external features, modified by contact with other nations, the commercial habits it has contracted during nearly eighteen centuries, and its progress

in the arts and sciences, must necessarily at the present day neutralise that policy which was imposed on the people of Israel by the ancient priests, and which certain modern Rabbis strive in vain to restore. Nothing bears less resemblance to the ferocious isolation of the old Jews, than the tolerance of the enlightened Israelites of our times. To those who doubt the fact, we can offer as a victorious testimony the noble words in which Mendelssohn sums up the progress and duties of the Hebrew race: "The best religious principles are those which are most closely attached to the general interests of humanity."

Universal religious tolerance which, as it is now stated, constitutes one of the most striking features in Dutch civilisation, was, and ought to be, very favourable to the study of Nature; which, although illustrating the works of God, stands thoroughly free from any peculiar creed. We have already seen in Holland some rich museums and scientific collections; but we must not pass over another kind of establishments which are especially dedicated to living creation.

CHAPTER X.

SOCIETIES OF NATURAL HISTORY — FOUNDATION OF ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETIES — PRIVATE ENTERPRISE — BRUSSELS — ORGANISATION — THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES — THE CANINE GENUS — ACCLIMATISATION — TACITUS — ANIMALS INTRODUCED INTO EUROPE — IMPROVEMENT OF SPECIES — INTRODUCTION OF USEFUL ANIMALS — VARIOUS BREEDS OBTAINED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES — ENNOBLEMENT OF ANIMALS — OBSTINACY OF MAN.

SCIENCE is the liberty of freedom of inquiry, and during the middle ages when this liberty did not exist, the learned men contented themselves with annotating Aristotle and disfiguring by fables the majestic simplicity of his zoological descriptions. Natural history was engrafted on theology, which from a certain point of view, was a negation of nature, and the liberation of human knowledge required that reason should resume its rights. After Luther had spoken, Galileo, proudly positive, had calculated the movements of the globe, and Michael Angelo had destroyed the mould of mystical art, a new, powerful, and precise direction was speedily substituted for the period of dreams and

illusions. At length in the eighteenth century Linnæus and Buffon appeared. Before them experimental zoology had not existed; but they had hardly spread over the history of life—the one the clear views of a stern mind, the other the ornaments of a delicate imagination—ere the progress of that science became rapid and universal. Towards the close of the same century, a political event furthermore contributed to the development of a taste for nature, by pouring over Europe the light of philosophy, and by founding at Paris the Museum of Natural History: it will be guessed that we allude to the French Revolution.

Each series of new acquirements creates a new sense in humanity, and the desire of judging with our own eyes the animals that live on the earth with us, has sprung up recently through reading the works of masters on natural history. The taste for living zoology has spread with incredible rapidity through England, France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium, and everywhere scientific institutions have been founded, modified more or less by the constitution and character of the several nations. In France, where the initiative power of the State is considerable, the Museum of Natural History was produced by a decree of the National Convention, while in England, Holland, and Belgium, where the central power only interferes in the collective interests of the country,

and where the initiation in matters of local utility belongs entirely to the cities and private persons, zoological gardens have been created by companies. It will be our object to determine the results which the spirit of association and liberty, as applied to science, has attained; and we shall then inquire, taking the Amsterdam zoological garden as our starting point and chief example, if establishments of this nature could not increase their sphere of utility, by exercising an influence not only over the study of animals, but also the services which natural history can render to political economy.

The Amsterdam zoological garden is situated, as is right, a little outside the city. In summer, magnificent parrots people the rows of trees bordering an artificial stream that runs through the centre of the garden. The park, the dens of living animals, and cages, all display the spirit of order and cleanliness which you expect, after a time, to find in all the undertakings of the Dutch. We noticed a specimen of the great salamander almost unique in Europe. A large and splendid hall is employed as a meeting place for the members of the society, and as a café, and concerts are given in it also. Above this hall is a museum of stuffed animals, and though the collection is not rich, the specimens are rare and tastefully prepared. On the staircase landing you notice the enormous skeleton of

an elephant, which belonged to the garden, and which it was found necessary to kill in consequence of its dangerous and irascible character. The success of this institution was of a nature to excite the rivalry of Belgium which, in certain respects, is still Holland, especially in Flanders.

At the present moment there are three natural history societies in the small kingdom of Belgium.

Others have described Antwerp from its monumental aspect: hence we will say nothing of the citadel, cathedral, museum, or exchange, but confine our attention solely to the port. These ships which flap their wings like migratory birds; the weather-beaten race of sailors speaking various languages; the exotic odour of the wood, spices, and other merchandise being discharged; the eternal rustling of the ropes and sails which bear in their folds a breath from distant countries; the valiant aspect of the masts which have visited dangerous and but little known seas; the yards, those delicate memorials of nautical industry; the splendid stream, the Scheldt, and beyond the Scheldt, the sea, and beyond ocean infinity; that is to say, India, China, the New World, Australia, the countries known and those not yet discovered —such is Antwerp! We can at once understand that the position of this city has been favourable to the progress of natural history. The knowledge of living beings is intimately connected with that

of the terrestrial globe : in the middle ages, when there was a fabulous history, there was even a fabulous animal kingdom. After these data, the person who seeks with his finger on the map of Belgium the spot where the first zoological garden must have been founded, will not fail to point out this sea-port, which serves as the entrepôt for the natural riches of all parts of the world.

The Antwerp zoological garden is situated near the railway station : the entrance has nothing remarkable about it, and a long avenue, gravelled and bordered by trees, leads to a terrace whence the eye can survey foliage, water, and a few diversities of soil, which are not without grace. In summer it is a pretty promenade, of rather incorrect design, but which is deficient neither in movement nor in a certain picturesque variety. The buildings that deserve attention, are a museum of natural history, a cold and severe edifice, a refreshment lodge in the Moorish style, and a charming house, built like a Swiss châlet, in which the director resides. The principal building contains a collection of stuffed animals, most of which lived in the Antwerp zoological garden. We are inclined to call this gallery the Elysian fields of the institution, for these birds and mammalia, though artistically prepared, are but the shadows of themselves. The ground floor of this natural history collection

is occupied by the dens of the living carnivora, among which we noticed a tiger and tigress, a Senegal lion, a panther, a Paraguay cougouar, and a cheetah. The front part of the building shelters birds from the tropical regions, and here the yellow parroquet, the waved parroquet of New Holland, the blue ara of America, the Maximilian ara, and many other birds remarkable for the brilliancy of their plumage, chatter and glisten. In one corner of this hall reserved for birds, a crocodile lies in a state of torpor from September 15 to May 15. In the centre of the garden a house with a southern aspect has received two giraffes, two elephants, and several Senegal antelopes. The ruminants wander about an enclosure bounded by light trellis-work; and we noticed among them a buck from the Azores. Several cages contain a rather rich collection of predaceous birds, while others are inhabited by the sultana fowl of Senegal, the sacred ibis, the red ibis of Brazil, the mandarin duck, the crested pigeon, the Numidian hen, and many other exotic birds. By their side there is a pond of water, in which all the palmepeds found in Europe disport. Under the clumps of trees you come across the cages of animals more or less high in the scale of living beings, arranged without much order. Here is the palace of the monkeys, which contains a specimen of the dog-faced ape, a very rare monkey from the Philippines. Further on is the bear pit,

to which every Sunday, while the weather is fine, the ladies of Antwerp, whose rich coloured beauty Rubens' pencil immortalised, lead their children, with their cheeks full of roses and their hands full of cakes; for zoological gardens are equally adapted for healthy exercise and study.

The original and social constitution of the Antwerp Society of Natural History are reminiscences pleasant to recall in the garden which was their creation. In 1843 a society was formed, having eight principal members at its head, and Mr. Kets, a naturalist, was nominated perpetual director of the institution about to be formed. A loan of 4000*l.*, whose shares were taken up by the inhabitants of Antwerp, was devoted to the purchase of ground and the erection of the first buildings. The ground was enlarged in 1847, and the internal works have gradually increased. So much for the start, and now for the annual support of the institution. The expenses of the Antwerp zoological garden now amount to nearly 4000*l.* a-year, and this sum is produced: first, by the payment of a franc a head which the society receives from visitors; secondly, by the sale of exotic birds and other animals, most of them bred in the establishment; and thirdly, by an entrance fee of twenty francs, and an annual sum of twenty-five francs paid by each member of the society. The number of visitors is considerable, and the Natural History

Society now musters 2500 members. We see from this that its position is prosperous.

The acquirement of animals is favoured by the relations established between some of the shareholders and the captains of merchant vessels. There is a regular rivalry among the former to purchase for the society at a cheap rate living specimens brought into port, and several donations have reached the gardens in the same way. Each of the shareholders, regarding himself as a joint-proprietor, displays a sort of self-esteem in maintaining the prosperity of the institution, and in increasing the collection. The gardens are kept in order by all the members interested: the wealth of natural history is placed under their safeguard, and everywhere you notice in the management that spirit of regularity and preservation which is developed by a feeling of responsibility. The management of a menagerie is a minute and delicate task; and to keep alive animals born under such opposite climates, a practical knowledge of their habits, character and wants, and great attention, are required. The losses this society has incurred have not been very considerable, and the results deserve encouragement, especially when we remember in how few years they have been obtained. Antwerp now possesses a collection of living animals which would do honour to any seaport town.

The example given by the Antwerpers of course

did not lack imitators, and towards the close of 1851 an anonymous society was formed at Ghent, to establish a zoological garden there. The capital at the outset, 12,000*l.*, was increased in 1853 to 18,000*l.* The grounds, gradually purchased, now possess a superficies of nearly thirteen acres. The inhabitants of Ghent, who at first hesitatingly responded to the appeal of the committee, now display great zeal to become members, and the number of shareholders at present exceeds 4000. The Ghent zoological garden contains a collection of about 700 live animals, very few we allow, but we must bear in mind that it was established as it were yesterday. The menagerie has suffered some severe losses, and a polar bear and a crocodile majestically pined away, the one through loss of its ice, the other of its sun. These losses are inevitable at the outset, for keeping the animals alive requires a serious apprenticeship. Altogether, though, the Ghent zoological garden is in a good way; and the director, a capable and devoted man, has established relations with all the countries whence rare animals come. The resources are abundant; in 1855 the income of the institution amounted to about 2500*l.*, and the whole of the expenses did not exceed 1800*l.* The zoological garden of Ghent, like that of Antwerp, is simultaneously a place of study and amusement. In the season, military bands attract visitors at

least once a week, and the ladies go there partly to look at the animals, partly to be looked at themselves.

Brussels is behindhand in the matter of natural history, and the zoological garden there is still in its infancy. The grounds are rather large, and excellently planted; a few pleasing houses have been built, and the cages are so arranged as to hide, under natural ornaments, that sadness that ever clings to captivity, but the collection is small. The quadrupeds seemed to us to be represented at Brussels chiefly by the dog genus, and birds by the Gallinaceæ. The losses have been enormous, and show that the art of keeping living animals is one of experience and practice. "I have been engaged in this business for forty years," the director of the Antwerp garden said to us, "and I learn something every day." Our conviction, however, is that the Society of Natural History founded at Brussels will overcome there as elsewhere the difficulties of a recent installation. The institution already attracts visitors, and the acquisitions are increasing.

The mechanism of the natural history societies, such as are found at work in Holland and Belgium, is, it will be seen, extremely simple. An organising committee is formed; this committee appoints a council and director; and a capital, divided into shares, is estimated and fixed upon the probable

wants of the enterprise. From that day, the establishment lives, it has a head, members, and, if we may say so, its alimentary organs. So soon as the first conditions are satisfied and ensure the existence of the company, the ground is purchased. The choice of the site is most important; it must have a south frontage for animals from hot countries, a northern one for those from cold countries, and a marshy substratum for aquatic specimens. When once opened, the institution exists on its entrance fees and subscriptions; and the purchase of animals is intrusted to the director, who must establish relations with travellers, consuls, and captains. When the animals are obtained, a profound knowledge of their manners and wants can alone insure their preservation; and the great point is to reproduce artificially around them the natural conditions of their country—in other words, make climates. A committee of foundation, shareholders, and subscribers, who have free entrance to the gardens on payment of about 1*l.* a-year, form the external basis of the establishment; while a management, whose acts are submitted to the surveillance of the founders and shareholders, represents the internal and executive authority of the institution.

Altogether the zoological gardens of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Ghent, and Brussels offer us a type of institutions unknown in France. Formed by sub-

scriptions, they owe nothing to the State, and they derive their resources from their own development. It is proposed to annex to the collections of living animals a library of natural history and public lectures; but, in their present state even, if these institutions do not profit science, they teach a liking for it. Hardly half a century back, the giraffe, kangaroo, and ornithorynchus were to the multitude animals as paradoxical as the unicorn and griffin of the ancients. Even if a few exotic animals were better known, they were only met with in our collections of natural history;—those cold catacombs of science, gloomy galleries in which nature was classified, ticketed, stuffed, and covered with dust, were better suited to create weariness than attract people to the study of animals. At the present day, these animals live, walk about, crawl, or fly before our eyes,—and that is progress. The zoological gardens have rendered real service to natural history, by popularising the knowledge of animals and giving science a holiday air. They add to the pleasure of cities and public education, civilisation, and morality; for, as the old sage says, "Man becomes better by studying the works of God."

In spite of incontestable services, we must be permitted to say that the true character of these institutions has not yet been determined. Created by the initiative of a few individuals and by the

aid of the town, zoological gardens cannot pretend to be free of instruction, illumined by all the scientific lights of the age. They will never rival the Natural History Museum of Paris, which is protected by the central power of a great state. These institutions, nevertheless, have a place to take; nothing can be better than the propagation of a knowledge of animals, and rendering science attractive by stripping it of its morose gravity; but the ambition of the directors ought not to stop here. The Zoological Garden of Amsterdam and the rest we have mentioned have hitherto only had a value as curiosities, but they might arise themselves to the rank of useful institutions. We have said what they are: we have now to say what they might be.

The true destination of zoological gardens would be to serve as a stage for facts and experiments in natural history. An investigation into the laws by virtue of which animals pass from the savage into the domestic state, attempts at acclimatisation, the improvement of conquered races, and the education of those that remain to conquer,—such, in our view, is the field of practical studies to which zoological gardens ought to limit their instruction. As in this track the past illumines the future, we may be permitted to bring together the facts which constitute, so to speak, the scale of development in the old domestic races.

The animal kingdom is to the observer a course of living geography, for the genius of different climates is personified in the various members of the great zoological family. We can add, that if care were taken to display the domestic species by the side of the wild species, the animal kingdom would become a course of universal history. Let us go back to the origin of civilisation. Nature only put forth strength, the elements of production and the outlines of things; but man created labour, and created it not only in his own race, but slowly and painfully developed this labour, the generator of all positive wealth, in other living beings. He summons these organised beings, gifted like himself with instincts and wants, to the help of new-born economy, and elevates the brutes to the dignity of useful beings. In the struggle begun between productive force and the parsimony of Nature, man developes successes and graduated resources. In proportion as he improves the social condition, he throws his light and progress upon the animal kingdom, whose services he daily augments. Author of the blessings of domesticity, he places some of his thought, resolution, and courage in the organs and movements of his dumb allies, and man thus creates one by one the animated instruments of industry. We have here, we repeat, a thorough social history, whose memorials must not be sought in books or the

effaced traditions of people; but an intelligent administration might place these records before the spectator, for they are in fact the domestic animals taken at different stages on the ladder of the world's civilisation.

Let us leave generalisms, and attack the practical side of the question. We will take for example the best known domestic species, the one which all over the world adds senses and organs to the senses and organs of man—we will take the dog. It is not sufficient to show in the jackal the probable origin of our dog, but a series of specimens ought to display the stages the jackal went through before attaining the shape, instincts, and functions of the European dog. A philosophic menagerie, if the expression may be granted us, would re-establish the chain of progress accomplished by the domestic animal, by showing in the first place the dog least modified by man, and that is the dog of New Holland. Closely verging on the savage stage, this dog, with its erect ears, has under its silky coat a species of woolly covering or down, which is as it were the natural robe of the race, and which our dogs have entirely lost; it does not bark, for that is an acquired faculty in the "civilised" dog (forgive the expression). Next to the New Holland dog would come that of the Esquimaux, which marks to some extent the second stage of the domestic growth.

If the dog of New Holland expresses in its flashing eye, savage manners, and rough shape, the social condition of the least industrious and most debased race on the surface of the globe, the dog of the Esquimaux, whose instinct is limited, or nearly so, to drawing sledges on the ice, displays the wants of a civilisation still very slightly complicated, but a civilisation already capable of employing its own strength and that of the animal kingdom in a certain range of services. Next to the dog of the Esquimaux would come in their order of dignity the dogs belonging to the barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples of Africa and the New World; and after them those belonging to the arrested civilisation in Asia, as, for instance, India, Tibet, China, and Persia. This canine series would thus lead the animal through successive modifications, from the savage type to that of our most beautiful domestic dogs, the stewards of man, companions of his toil, and distributors of his actions to other animals. The chain of living progression would terminate in the dog of the United States, which churns butter, performs varied functions in the house, and whose shape cultivated by man denotes a laborious and superior society.

What we propose doing for the dog might be done at the same time for the animals that contribute to our system of food, or our industry. Not satisfied with confronting the wild with the

domestic species, the intermediate degrees of the transformation would be established. As the animals succeed each other in the order of their acquired instincts and services, expressed by their external characters, we should see the wild-goat or ægagrus become a goat, the mouflon become a sheep, the orops a bull, the wild-boar a pig, while passing through shades which would constantly express the influence exercised from age to age by the hand of man on the skin, shape, organs, and manners of these animals. We have said that zoology thus practised would be not only a science, but would become, in addition, universal history. What is more evident? Man has made everything; he began, if we dare use the expression, by making himself, and had scarce sketched the destiny of his race, ere he began seeking throughout nature the means for supplying himself with the organs and strength he was deficient in. It was then that he turned his attention to the animal kingdom; after having for a time sought a prey in living animals, he hit one day on the idea of demanding their services. From that day, agriculture, trade, the useful arts, and domestic economy burst into life. Leading a few savage animals to share the life of man, his labours and tastes, was the work of one or two generations; but reducing them to the condition of onquered and really use ful races, was the task

of centuries. The historic ages handed down to one another the care of improving the races of animals, and this enterprise was favoured by the laws of Nature herself. The brute is capable of development, not a voluntary, free, spontaneous, and active development, but communicated. If the animal does not invent, it receives. Passive creatures of progress, the domestic species do not advance of themselves, but they do not refuse the improvements which man traces in their intelligence, their instincts, or even their organs. Now, as man can only act on the animal kingdom in proportion to the amount of his own faculties, it results that the closest relation necessarily exists between the history of the domestic races and that of the progress of civilisation on the globe. Man only gives to others what himself possesses, and the social state of a people, like its historic age, is exactly represented by the number, nature, and degree of improvement of the domestic animals he rears. In the enumeration which Cæsar, Tacitus, and other historians have left us of the zoological riches belonging to the Celts or the Germans, figure herds of kine, bulls, sheep and goats, the horse, *bellator equus*, and the hunting or shepherd dog. All these animals, by their character, indicate the domestic, pastoral and martial habits of the people that nourished them.

According to this principle — to barbarous men, barbarous animals—to civilised men, civilised animals—an historical zoology may be boldly created. What is required to lay the basis of this perfectly new instruction? All that is needed is to collect, group, and range for each domestic series those individual specimens in whose character may be traced the character of the more or less progressive societies from which these animals proceed. A zoological garden in which all our domestic species might be seen in different enclosures, emerging by stages from their natural source, and in which the types of the different civilisations that rear them may seem formed in the modified types of the divers animals—such a garden, I say, would no longer be a gathering ground for amateurs, and the satisfaction of barren curiosity, but a stage of ideas and facts on which the great drama of civilisation would be represented by actors chosen in nature.

The confrontment of the savage with the domestic species, in passing through the intermediate shades, would show at the two ends of the scale uniformity and variety. The most remarkable feature in the primitive human races is the resemblance of individuals to each other; there are, so to speak, but one man and one woman. This observation did not escape the genius of Tacitus, when speaking of the Germans, he says: *Habitus quo-*

que corporum, quanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus. These primitive and uniform races have animals that resemble them, that is to say, are equally represented by a single type. In incomplete civilisation, there is but one horse, one ass, one sheep, one dog; and man creates variety in his own race and the domestic species, by substituting a system of useful cross breeding for the primitive uniformity given by Nature. Hence, in a menagerie where the savage species would be placed by the side of the domestic in their different degrees of formation, a genus, which at the starting point was represented by one or two types at the most, would towards the close of the series offer a considerable number of types engendered one of the other. Thus would be displayed in relief, so to speak, in life, the great law, that everything is alike on issuing from the hands of Nature, while everything differs on leaving the hands of civilised man.

This is not all; in simple civilisation, animals show themselves capable of a single order of services agreeing with their primitive instincts; while in complicated civilisation the domestic animals are capable of performing numerous and diversified services more and more in a ratio to the wants of man. Each new function constitutes a progress which does not obliterate the previous progress, but continues it, and adds acquired

faculties to the natural faculties. If we only regard here the great divisions, we find the three primitive ages of civilisation graven on the three inferior varieties of the canine race—the hunting-dog, the savage stage ; the sheep-dog, the pastoral stage ; and the watch-dog, the birth of property. The division of labour, the inequality of social conditions, the difference of education, food, and attention to health among the different classes of citizens, all the facts displayed in the birth of states, are written in manifold signs on the character of the domestic animals, and engender varieties of services whose sum total constitutes the agricultural and industrial wealth of nations. The history of domestic animals is the history of the organisation of labour.

This species of social epic, in which the poetry of facts would soon take the place of dry classification and cold conjectures, would naturally lead the spectator to a new experimental theatre. The questions relating to the domestication of animals are beginning, and rightly so, to occupy the attention of naturalists, and all are agreed that the improvement of the conquered races in our climates, and the acquisition of those still left to conquer, would be one of the greatest benefits that could be offered a country. This would render, they say, toil less fatiguing, and the means of subsistence more assured. The task

of acclimatising foreign animals requires to be enlightened by the history of the acclimatisation of the old domestic species, and here facts abound. Most of the domestic animals from which the European derives his wealth do not belong to Europe. When the race of Japhet—*audax Japeti genus*—advanced into the portion of the globe which we inhabit, and where all the marvels of industry, and all the victories of agriculture are now displayed, what did it find there? For trees the oak, for animals the wild boar. All those fine domestic species to which European civilisation is indebted for its comfort, superiority, and magnificence, Europe borrowed from other parts of the globe. All that Nature refused to our climes, human industry gave itself. Originally, mother Nature, the *alma rerum parens*, but little favoured the Northern globe, but the man destined to live in our poor country was gifted with a brain richer than that of the other races; and it is by the aid of this privileged brain, that the European held the world under a species of social dominion, and augmented his own strength by the cosmopolitan forces of the animal kingdom. From Central Asia we obtained the horse, from India and Asia the ox, from Persia the goat, from Hindostan the fowl, from Colchis the pheasant, from Africa the guinea-fowl, and from the New World the turkey. Hence, the

animal kingdom existing in Europe is our conquest.

Is this pacific conquest terminated? is the work of domesticating animals accomplished? Science answers us in the negative. History points out to us a very large number of exotic animals over which man might certainly stretch out his hand. Most of these animals figure in menageries and zoological gardens, but solely as objects of curiosity. A distinction must broadly be drawn between the accidental possession of some individuals and the possession of the race. Certain animals may be enslaved and even tamed, but not domesticated, for domestication is based on a law, and that law is the transmission of acquired modifications. The animal produced by a savage sire and dam is born savage, the animal produced by a tame sire and dam is born tame, but the animal produced by a domesticated sire and dam is adapted for domestication. The inclinations, character, and faculties which subjected species contract in their commerce with man are transmitted by the road of natural reproduction. A sort of slow progress germinates in the organs of the animal that passes from the savage to the domestic state, and this progress, continued from generation to generation, produces a new manner of being. This passive tradition, in which all individuals of the race participate, according to different degrees,

and this transmission of acquired characters, justify scientifically the efforts and essays of the human race to introduce into creation an animal kingdom of its own. Artists may admire, if they think proper, the primitive forms of those forest denizens on which the hand of man has left no imprint; they are at liberty even to prefer savage species, the ferocious expression of the blind strength of nature, to the domestic species, in which the features of the various civilisations of the globe live again. The social economist, however, regards facts from a different stand-point; he appreciates in animals the organs which relate to an order of determined services, and esteems those living forms in whose development we take an interest. For the economist the animal that works or supports man is never ugly, for it has the poetry of utility.

Having laid down the law, it remains for us to say why it has not extended to all the members of the zoological family. Obstacles oppose the conquest of the animal kingdom, and the first of these is found in the geographical distribution of living beings. Nature, by means of the climates, has limited, circumscribed, and localised the existence of every living species on the globe. Let us hasten to add, however, that the obstacle, serious though it be, does not appear to be immoveable; each time man has seen any important advantage accrue from taking possession of a wild species, he has

done so, and the topographical barriers after a momentary resistance have been levelled before his persevering will.

Take a glançe at the world and you will very quickly perceive that the ubiquity of any domestic animal is in a direct ratio to the services that animal renders its master. Organised beings, in the primitive state, do not all offer the same dispositions or the same repugnance to domesticity. They are evidently some more rebellious than others, either to acclimatisation or to taming; but when the usefulness of an animal is so great that human society could not be founded or progress without it, we may say that its conquest is decreed in principle. If, then, man has not made use of the instincts and flesh of the greater number of the domestic animals, we must not lay the fault either on the different climates or temperatures of the globe, or on the primitive manners of the domestic animals; we must rather say that, after supplying his most urgent wants by the assimilation of a small quantity of useful species, he relaxed his action on organic nature, and abandoned a victory which demanded too many sacrifices from his indolence.

Europe as yet possesses only thirty-five species of domestic animals, of which thirty-one belong to the old hemisphere and four to America. These are evidently too few, and all thoughtful naturalists concede it; some have even expressed the wish

and conceived the hope of increasing the family of our useful animals. In order to form an idea of the benefits that would accrue to agriculture, industry, and the arts by the acquisition of exotic species now remaining far beyond the limits of Europe, we must imagine the loss our civilisation would endure were one of the long acclimatised species, for instance, the horse, ass, sheep, ox, or fowl, to disappear. The public wealth would be visibly affected, and social economy would have to deplore such a loss equally with natural history. Among these animals some contribute to our food, others, like the sheep, serve simultaneously for food and clothing, while others again, as auxiliaries, undertake with their vigorous limbs an amount of work which in their absence would fall entirely on human arms. It required the potato disease to teach us the social value of that tuber, and the extent of the services Drake rendered us by its propagation; but will a general and terrible epidemic be needed to teach us of what importance is the cultivation of the animal kingdom? *Dĭ, talem avertite casum!* Reason alone must tell us what blessings we owe to the first man who yoked oxen to the ploughshare, tamed the horse, and civilised the wild boar, and what gratitude awaits the man who may be successful enough to enrich Europe with a new domestic species.

CHAPTER XI.

TAMING WILD ANIMALS — DIFFICULTIES OF ACCLIMATISATION — THE SEAL — ITS VALUE TO MAN — THE DROMEDARIES IN THE JARDIN DES PLANTES — THE LAMA — THE WAPITI — DOMESTICATION OF THE ELK — THE REINDEER — ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE THE REINDEER INTO ENGLAND — THE DODO — THE AMERICAN TAPIR — THE BEAVER — THE KANGAROO — GRADUAL EXTINCTION OF WILD RACES — INCUBATORS — THE HOCCO — ENGLISH CATTLE BREEDING.

We will now rapidly review the animal kingdom in order to see in each division of organic life what are the types whose conquest we may reasonably hope.

From the carnivora the European obtained the most useful and intelligent of his auxiliaries, the dog; but there he stopped. A few persons, ignorant of the fact, suppose that human industry has not reclaimed from the state of nature most of the great carnivora, because it recoiled before the natural ferocity of these animals. But that is not the obstacle, for there have been instances of lions, tigers, bears, wolves, and foxes growing very tractable and being even completely tamed. The

hyæna, which is generally an object of aversion, and which naturalists of the last century painted in such gloomy colours, has already passed into the state of a domestic animal in a great part of the African continent, where it performs the duty of a dog, most faithful and attached to its master. The education of the feline race has been commenced; I do not allude to the cat, that fickle guest of our houses, which has ever refused to surrender its independence; but to the cheetah, a specimen of which is in the Antwerp collection, which by its manners contradicts the vulgar prejudices about the cruelty of the tiger. Good-natured and docile in a state of liberty, it follows Indian nobles to the chase, and when a prisoner it affects its very keepers by its gentleness. It is true that the cheetah offers some organic differences from the other *feles;* the anterior part of the brain is higher, and the non-retractile nails are differently formed from those of the tiger; but we ask ourselves whether this specific character is furnished by nature or created by training. This is a field of conjectures I do not wish to open up; it will be sufficient for us to know that among those zoological families which are considered the most formidable, animals may be found very susceptible of undergoing man's influence. There are no ferocious beasts, at any rate among the mammalia, incapable of attachment and gratitude. It is even

a law known to naturalists, that in the brute, as in man, gentleness is a fruit of the development of the intellect. The animals which prove themselves most capable of affection and of friendly relations with ourselves are not those which Nature has provided with the weakest means of defence, but those she has endowed with the most intelligence. The more or less dangerous character of animals is so little related to their alimentary regime, or even to the destructive power they are endowed with, that most of the herbivora are generally ferocious, brutal beings, whose apparent gentleness is often followed by an act of violence. It required more patience, courage, and labour to tame the horse and the bull than man would have needed to subdue the most terrible of the carnivorous species, and if agricultural industry was in preference applied to ruminants and solipedes, it was solely because they offered more immediate utility.

This obstacle put aside as imaginary, the difficulty of acclimatisation still remains. Most of the carnivora from which European societies could recruit new auxiliaries are found under burning or icy climates. This barrier, raised by nature against the invading humour of man, is very serious ; but let us see whether similar reasons did not oppose the conquest of our old domestic races, and search in what manner man acted in order to

efface the geographical limits in which these species were imprisoned while in a wild state. History teaches us that our animals which originally belonged to hot countries did not suddenly change their country; they did not leap at one bound from south to north, but followed the slow, regular, and graduated march of civilisation, which advances step by step from east to west, but ever advances. It was from the shores of Greece that the pheasant of Colchis and the peacock of India were spread throughout Europe; the guinea-fowl and ferret, both African, were naturalised, one in Italy the other in Spain, and afterwards in Languedoc and Provence, ere they reached our cold countries, where the guinea-fowl adorns our poultry yard and the ferret checks the over-breeding of the rabbit. Thus, the path is traced; if, as we may be permitted to hope, the example given by England and Belgium is followed, if zoological gardens like those founded there are established within the next few years in cities more favoured by the sun; and if by wedding natural history to political economy these establishments combine utility with amusement, the victory over the animal kingdom will be able to make serious progress. Let us suppose, for instance, two zoological gardens founded, one at Venice, the other at Lisbon. These two acclimatising schools would transmit, after a certain number of births, the results of

their essays to Marseilles and Bordeaux, which would correspond with the Paris Museum of Natural History, itself in relation with the zoological gardens of England, Holland, and Belgium. The race newly acquired by the care of science, would thus advance stage by stage toward European naturalisation. In this graduated march, it would follow the same geographical road, and pass through the same varying phases of temperature, as our old domestic races did; the only distinction being that this artificial march would be accelerated by the teaching and practice of practical hygiene.

Among this series of carnivora from which we ask auxiliaries, there is one animal which might render us great service—it is the seal. Intelligent, gentle, and affectionate, it possesses all the qualities that predispose it for a domestic condition. The Director of the natural history collection at Dijon had, a few years ago, a seal so tame that this inhabitant of the seas had entirely modified its original manners and habits; it hardly ever went into the water, and in winter lay by its master's side on the hearth, with its stomach on the hot ashes. When trained by man, the seal would be for fishing what the dog is for the chase; but the only difficulty is in the geographical limitation of this animal. Naturalists have observed a fact, from which they have perhaps been too hasty in

deducing a law. The fact is this: not one of the exotic animals, now acclimatised in Europe, originally belonged to a climate colder than our own. We may reply to this that, as civilisation started from India, Persia, and Egypt, it is perfectly natural that our domestic animals should have followed in their progress westward that civilisation of which they were the weak but indispensable members. It is true that the northern races several times descended on the south of Europe; but what a difference is there in the nature of these movements! The march of the social element advancing from east to west has all the majesty of the solar revolution, while the displacement of the northern race ever had the character of tumultuous invasions. A sterile violence constantly marked the passage of these torrents of barbarians, who, after destroying old societies, ended by vanishing in their victory.

Even supposing that this historic fact were a law of nature, it would prove nothing against the probable conquest of the seal. Athough this animal is a denizen of the northern seas, it lives in very varying latitudes, and the coasts of Holland and Belgium might be suitable for its training. In order to conceive the importance of this work, we must bear in mind that in the solitude of the seas, which are sevenfold larger than land, man has hitherto had only enemies. Of what advan-

tage would it be to him to obtain, among the present population of the waters, an ally, a friend, a companion, a helper, to follow him in his undertakings! The most positive and conclusive results have been already obtained with individuals, and the only thing necessary is to extend the same dispositions to the race, and we may say that the seal is a conquest prepared by nature.

If we pass from carnivorous to herbivorous animals, we find that Europe is deficient in several domestic species, to which the civilised nations of Asia, Africa, and the New World owe a portion of their wealth, such as is produced by the camel, dromedary, quagga, lama, and alpaca. The camel and dromedary, from their sobriety, patience, and the structure of their stomach, which allows them to endure privation of water, would render services in the dry and mountainous countries of Europe, which the best horse cannot yield. At the Jardin des Plantes of Paris, dromedaries have long been harnessed to the water-wheels, and it has been proved that the labour of one of them is equivalent to that of two strong horses. Less food and more work—that would be a clear profit for the economic constitution of society.

The lama is the camel of the New World, and though slow and weak, we do not think it ought to be despised as a draught animal in poor and

mountainous countries, where the horse, the donkey, and even the mule, find a foot-hold difficult. The introduction of this animal, would be a piece of good fortune for several French departments, especially the Hautes Alpes. Originally belonging to the highest mountains on the globe, the lama has a very sure footing. When heavily loaded it ascends very dangerous ravines, and finds a road through the rocks, and even on the border of precipices where man often hesitates to follow it. The lama requires hardly any care ; it scarce needs to be sheltered against the temperature, and it finds its means of subsistence for itself everywhere. The lama would be adapted to some localities as a draught animal, but it would suit all for killing, for its flesh is highly esteemed, and its wool, spun and prepared, produces valuable stuff. In the latter respect, however, the lama is not comparable with the alpaca, whose hair is as fine as that of cashmere goats and much longer. The manufacture and sale of cloths made of this wool, has long constituted one of the rare branches of industry and trade in South America. Introduced recently into some European countries, these animals have lived and bred in several places. There is not a single zoological garden in which, by care, young lamas, and even alpacas, have not been reared. The lama is now almost acclimatised in Holland, and if these experiments be continued,

within half a century these animals of the New World will perhaps be regarded as forming part of our economic kingdom. Their introduction, now insured in principle, will certainly not cause either the horse, ass, mule, or sheep to be neglected, but it will supply agriculture and trade with a new element.

Enriching by new auxiliaries, the present motive system would be adding to the welfare and productive forces of societies. Some English naturalists have thought that in spite of their vicious and obstinate character, the zebra and dauw were not incapable of being tamed; they even assert that their defects, if cultivated, would become the germs of precious qualities for man—such as impetuosity, courage, and ardour. There is another animal, less ferocious and endowed with great speed—the elk; known in the United States by the name of the *wapiti*. This noble animal, the pride of the American forests, was introduced into Baltimore by a German naturalist: the Indians tamed it, and it soon gave them all the services of a domestic animal. The elk bears burdens, drags sledges over the ice with extreme rapidity, and nourishes man with its flesh, which is of delicate flavour. Four American elks were taken to England in 1817, and bought at a large price by Lord John Murray, who obtained three superb generations from these animals. Some years ago an elk could be seen in London, har-

nessed like a horse, and dragging a tilbury with admirable vigour. This animal appears to belong to the race of antediluvian elks, whose fossil remains are found pell-mell among the ruins of the forests in which they hid their inoffensive majesty. The elk must attract the attention of naturalists who take an interest in acclimatisation.

Of all the animals, however, which in our temperate climates industry might derive help from, the one that deserves most attention is the reindeer. This animal constitutes nearly the entire wealth of the northern peoples, for it takes the place simultaneously of the cow, the sheep, and the horse, as it nourishes them with its milk, warms them with its wool, and carries their burdens; the flesh, too, is excellent. We can see at a glance, of what value the acquisition of this useful animal would be to farmers. Such a conquest has already tempted the ardour of the English, and various attempts on a small scale have been made during the last few years to introduce the reindeer in the cold countries of Great Britain. These experiments, we are bound to add, have not been successful, and the change of food cannot be accused, for the moss which forms the principal nourishment of the animal, is abundant in Scotland. There remains, then, the acclimatisation difficulty. The reindeer, like the northern animals generally, clings with extreme tenacity to the geo-

graphical conditions in which nature has placed it; and the whole gist of the question is to know whether that tenacity is invincible, and no conclusion can be derived from the experiments hitherto made. The art of acclimatisation consists, before all, in regulating the degrees of the change; for though every organised being is susceptible of yielding to the action of combined modifications, it is on the express condition that this action be slow, graduated, and insensible. An animal violently dragged from its original situation, takes root with difficulty in the artificial country destined for it, and to be effective, industry must have carefully prepared the geographical conditions of its new residence to some extent. The reindeer is widely spread through Norway, where it is held in high esteem, whether as an object pleasing to the eye, the auxiliary of man, or as food. A system of organised transitions would be required to introduce this cold dweller on the ice to the moderate climates of Europe, and its race ought to advance from station to station along the shores of the Baltic and of the North Sea. Zoological gardens established on this idea, and forming from north to south a variable scale of temperature, would be alone capable of enriching our animal kingdom with a subject so docile and so valuable. Antwerp might perform for the polar animals the part Marseilles is called upon to

play for the animals of Africa ; it is a *pied à terre* where the reindeer could rest after passing through Denmark or Holland, and thence might possibly be spread at a later date through the interior of France. The climate of Belgium, especially at Antwerp, being but little favoured by the sun, is not at all adapted for naturalising attempts connected with the southern nations ; but this very fact would become a happy and fertile condition for the acquisition of the northern races.*

Our alimentary régime is poor, especially when compared with the living wealth nature has spread over the globe, of which the European, though the most industrious of men, has appropriated but a very small portion. It would lead us too far to enumerate all the species of mammalia by which our tables could be enriched, but there is one which commends itself by its stature and the abundance of its flesh—the American tapir. The tapir is the hippopotamus of the New World, as the lama is its camel. This pachyderm would complete the race of our domestic swine,

* An example of the rapidity with which the reindeer can be propagated when it meets with favorable conditions, may be referred to here. In 1773, thirteen reindeer were exported from Norway to Iceland ; only three of them reached their destination. They were set at liberty in the mountains, where they prospered and multiplied to such an extent, that in forty years it was not rare to meet herds of fifty to one hundred reindeer in various parts of Iceland.

whose usefulness is proverbial. Reflection will supplement the list with the *cabiai*, the vicuña, the gazelles, and many other species unknown in Europe, but valuable either as food or for industrial purposes. All the animals that have been reduced to a domestic condition have considerably increased in numbers, in spite of the sacrifices imposed on their race by our wants: all the animals, on the contrary, which have continued in a savage state are diminishing day by day, and some, in all probability, will ere long disappear from the face of the globe. In proportion as civilisation advances, it drives back the animal kingdom, and the larger species especially cannot maintain their free condition in the vicinity of man. When Africa and Asia one day follow the example of the New World, and the pioneer's axe opens a path for civilisation on this old land, the savage races will have to choose between two alternatives—pass under man's power, or disappear. By favouring experiments which must necessarily increase the group of our animals, success would not only serve the interests of social economy, but also perform an act of natural preservation. Several wild races of ruminants, confined to small regions, exposed to perpetual attacks from animals like the lion and tiger, or denounced, like the giraffe, by their height and brilliant hues, are threatened with extinction in a few

centuries, if they do not seek the protection of man.

This fear is not chimerical, but is based on facts, and we have already the example of an animal that has disappeared within historic times. Of the dodo, a great short-winged bird, discovered in the Mauritius when it was still uninhabited, all that remains is a written description, a leg preserved in the British Museum, and a drawing said to have been made from the living animal. Here then we have a bird which, owing to the introduction of man into certain countries of Africa, has gone to join the lost species of the antediluvian world. The same fate seems reserved for the emù and the kangaroo; both are rapidly retiring before the progress of civilisation in Australia, and if succour does not come to their aid by acclimatising them among ourselves, these two animals will, like the dodo, be extirpated from the globe within a short period. There is another animal, valuable in trade, which through the only service it renders, seems doomed to certain extermination at a period more or less remote—it is the beaver. Hunted by the North American Indians, whom civilisation hunts in their turn, the beaver will have a difficulty in surviving the war declared against it, if it does not succeed in inducing man to adopt it. Man, it is true, only adopts alimentary animals for the sake of destroying them, but

this regular and organised destruction, which is corrected by reproduction, does not compromise the existence of a race in the same way as the fury of the chase or fishing does. If the fears expressed by certain naturalists as to the fate of various wild species are not unfounded, if it be true that facts give a value of probability to their apprehensions, we must either accuse nature of improvidence, or conclude that all animals are destined to become domestic, and that the perpetuation of their race on the globe can only be insured on that condition.

The conquest of the exotic races—that work of preservation and foresight—is making insensible but sure progress. Yesterday, the kangaroo was scarce known; to-day, well-founded hopes may be formed as to the naturalisation of that animal in our climes, for it has bred in several natural history collections. It would be interesting for science to observe in what proportion domesticity might modify among us the manners of this animal. It is a law that the eccentrically situated parts of the world produce an extraordinary animal kingdom. If this geographical law be as well based on facts as we believe it to be; if organised beings are to some extent the animated powers of the regions where they first saw the light and where they continue to live; if, by an inspection of their habits and external character,

it be possible to form an idea of the countries to which they belong—then, any one who sees a kangaroo has, so to speak, seen Australia. This animal, that leaps instead of walks, whose attitude is frequently erect, and to which its tail serves as a pillar when it is standing, is based on the topograpical circumstances amid which it lives. Its great height, the considerable strength of its lower limbs, and the leaps, from twelve to twenty feet in height, which it performs with ease, all announce a country in which, as travellers recount, enormous patches of grass grow from distance to distance, and the eye leaps from rock to rock, from shrub to shrub. Some English naturalists assert that kangaroos which have been reared and domesticated for a time in Australia, lost in their new mode of life their hurried movements, that their strength and height diminished, and that they more often made use of their fore feet to run. If these facts were confirmed by experiments, they would clear up a question of natural history which has hitherto remained very obscure—the degree of influence exercised by external circumstances on the organisation and manners of living beings.

If we pass from the mammalia to the birds, we shall again find that man has been much too economic in his acquisitions. In the middle ages, when society was established upon the predominance of the military element, falconry occupied a high place

in the world. The character of feudalism, life in a castle, and the manners of that sanguinary epoch were reflected on the habits of the predacious birds whose training only developed their savage and destructive instinct. Falconry has disappeared with feudalism, with the great fortunes made by the sword, and with pillage and devastation, and the present training of our domestic animal kingdom necessarily reflects the features of an industrious society, which assuredly aspires to comfort, but which proposes to found its material prosperity on the conquests of peace and labour. The chase expresses the infancy of our action on the alimentary species, just as the booty taken in war expresses the infancy of political economy. The choice of the ornithological races whose acclimatisation may enrich our aviaries, parks, or poultry yards, must at the present day be directed, not by pride or a purpose of plunder, but by a research for the useful and respect shown to all rights.

An obstacle hitherto prevented the great species of exotic birds being reproduced in our climates: the eggs of the ostrich and casuar could never be hatched by the natural process. At the present day naturalists have a right to count upon success through the power of the hydraulic incubators, which Great Britain has produced. Already the eggs of the ostrich and casuar have been submitted to this apparatus, and a lively curiosity is

aroused by this artificial incubation, whose progress is watched through glass. If these experiments succeed, trade will no longer be dependent on Africa for those fine feathers which form the pride and ornament of our ladies. It is, at any rate, a sight worthy of man to witness the silent work of the incubation of the egg, the hatching of the young—in a word, all the mysteries which the hen generally conceals under her wings—which are revealed by this indiscreet dispenser of heat and life.

The zeal of the acclimatisers ought before all to be directed to the gallinaceous family. Our poultry is not very varied at present, and a number of specimens are absent which Africa, Australia, or the New World possesses. It will be sufficient for us to indicate the *hocco* and the *pauxi*. When we reflect on the familiar manner of these birds, and know with what facility they pass from a state of nature into a domestic state, and remember that they have long been tamed in various districts of South America, we are indeed surprised at seeking these birds in vain on our tables. There is not the least doubt that the hocco can grow habituated to our climate, for it has already been naturalised once in Holland, where it became as prolific in a few months as most of our ordinary fowls. This conquest was begun a little before the commencement of the French Revolution, and would have

been completed, had it not been for the civil wars and troubles that then burst on Holland. The establishment in which the hocco was being domesticated was swept away by the tempest, the new race was dispersed, and the time and trouble devoted to its training thrown away. If naturalists looked less at the great interests of humanity than at the losses and annoyances that fall upon themselves, they would have fair grounds for abusing revolutions. However this may be, the domestication of the hocco has to be begun again, and the duty devolves on the zoological gardens. The introduction of this breed into our country would be desirable for more than one reason; not only do its height and beauty recommend it to farmers, but it would be sought in our markets, for its flesh is said to equal in taste that of the pheasant.

The fish family has supplied us with even fewer foreign species than the birds have done. Hitherto, man has been almost reduced to eat the few ichthyological species with which avaricious nature peopled the lakes, rivers, streams, and ponds, on whose banks he is destined to live, and yet the golden cyprinus, so common in our cities, and which often is the poor man's sole luxury, is a proof that a fish can be removed from its native sea, even that of China, and obtain a home in the most foggy countries. Pisciculture is still

in its infancy, but this art is destined to make incalculable progress. The new apparatus brought out in England permits the manners, amours, and birth of fish and mollusks to be studied through glass. Such a study of aquatic life will doubtless serve to direct our attention to the different tribes of a race, which the depths of its vital element had hitherto concealed from us. But this invention is as nothing, when compared with artificial incubation.

Not satisfied with creating animals at its will, as the chemist forms salts, science wished to do even better: it sought to produce fresh species by crossing. Although the attempts hitherto made have not been fortunate, the most eminent physiologists have not given up their hopes of success. Substituting the hand of man for the acts of nature, is not only a conquest for science, but also a triumph of utility. Already efforts are being made to repeople the ponds and streams which the increase of steam navigation menaced with solitude, but the art would be greatly improved were attempts made to introduce the numerous fish breeds in the waters of Asia, Africa, and the New World. To be satisfied with the fish that the accidents of the climate have brought within reach of our nets is acting after the fashion of the savage, who only has the fruits and animals of his own country; but it is the duty of civilised

man to overcome the parsimony of nature, by substituting a distribution based on the economic wants of society for the original distribution of beings.

We have pointed out the services zoological gardens might render by becoming schools of acclimatisation. Gaining new species is a noble motive for emulation, but a work no less useful would be the improvement of the old domestic species. There is an art which consists in modifying races, and to this art Great Britain is indebted for a portion of her wealth. Although the genus of the dog, ox, horse, sheep, pig, goat, and fowl is found in nature, we may say that these animals are of human creation. A slow social agency has changed their relations and manners, and the laws of their natural fecundity: it has even produced among them unexpected forms, which stand in relation to a new sphere of usefulness. Take, for instance, the race of Durham oxen, on which animals, as on her other works, England has imprinted the source of a powerful agriculture and industry. As the horns of these animals were useless for food, the Englishman suppressed them; he has developed the fleshy part of the ox at the expense of the bony structure; he has cultivated the delicate parts which our palate desires, and through this incessant toil of the will, he has made animals which nature never suspected. The development of

other alimentary species has been pushed on with no less ardour, so that, by increasing the size and quality of the old domestic animals, England has augmented her resources without requiring fresh conquests over the savage races. What is to be said about the training of the horse? That ferocious and limited animal, which among primitive nations is exclusively employed for war purposes, the English have completely assimilated with themselves; they have obtained in it an auxiliary which, by its varied shape and instincts, lends itself to the most complicated wants of agriculture and trade. Increasing the forces of the old domestic races is increasing the amount of comfort we have a right to expect from their services. The directors of zoological gardens would therefore have a mission to fulfil in this direction, and their establishments might become real economical institutions of natural history. The cultivation of the animal kingdom, by augmenting the means of subsistence and the instruments of labour, would relieve, in a certain proportion, the working classes.

The art of improving races is based on laws that are now known, and the first of them is the transmission of acquired characters. Organised beings tend to reproduce by generating, not alone the type of their species, but also the fortuitous circumstances which have modified, altered,

or embellished that fundamental type. Accidental and fugitive causes may thus give birth to permanent forms. On these principles a practical science has been established, whose results are as marvellous as they are profitable to the public wealth of nations. By acting on the individual members of the animal kingdom, man acts by transmission on the race; he thus carves the ideal of his wants and desires in the living flesh. For the primitive forms of nature he substitutes the beautiful forms of utility; varieties form under his hand; he lengthens or shortens the anterior or posterior limbs of the horses, he loads the succulent parts of the ox with flesh; he increases the dimensions of the tail in some sheep, and the number of the horns in others; by cross-breeding, he engenders new races of mammalia and birds, which he fashions down to the very feather. These are not merely a few physical and external characters which come from the modifications imposed on the animal by the will of man, but the most surprising instincts, at times appearing most opposed to the manners of the savage state, are introduced by habit and training. Not only does the animal acquire the faculties which art communicates to it, but it also loses those with which nature provided it. The old temper is destroyed, and its primitive tastes are lost in the organic crossing of the

breed, and in the new manifestations with which it is enriched. It is no longer the same being, for the animal thus modified and modelled to some extent upon the appetite, food, calculations, or whims of man, is a true industrial production. Zoological gardens in which such experiments were tried, would become, as it were, factories of science and life. The domestic species, acclimatised or improved, constitute in fact real productions; man acts on animals as he acts by all primary matter—he gives them a destination, an object, and value, and with them he is a creator of utility, in a word.

It must not be believed that animals degenerate by becoming domestic; on the contrary, with most of our acclimatised species, training has been the source of new ornaments. Man has developed the stature, improved the structure, and increased the prolific energy of most of the animals submitted to his immediate and continued action. It is, however, fair to say that, after a period of domesticity, races require to be revived from the natural stock. We saw in Belgium, pigs bred by a wild boar and domestic sow, whose height and size were remarkable, and our breed of turkeys would profit by going back to its source. The wild turkeys of Pennsylvania are superb and large birds, whose colours have faded and shape decreased in passing from a state of nature into

our poultry yards. Who is unaware of the fact that human races, after going through progress and civilisation, themselves have a real interest in regenerating the blood by mixing it with young and vigorous races? Zoological gardens, having ready to hand most of the original types, might from time to time renew the blood of our domestic animals. People have grown disgusted with art for the sake of art, and it will be the same with science: to know and understand all that lives is doubtless a charm: but to employ the resources nature offers to augment the strength and prosperity of nations, is a duty.

All these experiments of training, all these attempted conquests over nature, meet with a check in the discovery of steam. The laws of motion are changed: we have emerged from the age of draught cattle, and are entering the age of machines. What are the horse, the camel, the buffalo, what is the elephant itself, by the side of these powerful locomotives, the creatures of progress, the animals of industry? They breathe, pant, snort, eat, and run: they live. There is reason to fear that the new mechanical kingdom will divert man's attention, and suspend his bold enterprises with the animal kingdom. In France, especially, the consequence of recent progress is to cause old conquests to be neglected; still the competition of machines will not efface the real

and serious services of the allies borrowed from living nature; trade and agriculture will always require draught animals for transporting things a short distance. Although the electric telegraph has broken the wings of our carrier pigeons, it will long remain an ingenious art to connect distant spots by the flight of these messengers. The progress of mechanism and the amelioration of races can, besides, march side by side. England, while creating her machine population, has not neglected increasing the strength and value of her domestic animals: this great nation, on the contrary, has understood that the development of the economic power of nations must emanate from a combination of the two forces.

In conclusion, domestic animals are, we have seen, the works of man, and monuments of his history. Most of the commonest and widest spread species in our country originally came from the centre of Asia: like our languages, our first instruments of agricultural labour, and our useful arts, they date back to the cradle of civilisation. As war was during the past the connecting link of races, and the agent of distant communication, the introduction of the majority of the subjects of the domestic kingdom among ourselves was the work of military expeditions. Historians, who like to find compensation in evil, and a species of utility in scourges, may appeal to these substan-

tial, profitable, and valuable conquests, to absolve what there was violent and factitious in the other conquests. Still, their moral antitheses and contradictions must not be played with, and evil is not necessary for the accomplishment of good. The empire of man over animals can henceforth be established without the aid of the sabre; and at the present day, when voyages, trade, science, and steam are tending to establish pacific relations between the different regions of the globe, our victories over nature must be won without the lever of force. Zoological gardens, those establishments which are the growth of yesterday, are destined, if their directors understand their duty, to organise the action of man on animals, to constitute the graduated scale of temperatures, and thus enrich our alimentary regime with all the foreign species refused by nature to our climates.

A fact which has not been sufficiently present to the minds of naturalists is, that most of the objects of consumption which are employed by modern society,—such as sugar, the potato, rice, and coffee —are of exotic origin, and more or less recently introduced. The food of man has been renewed, as it were, during the last two or three centuries, but the vegetables alone represented this social revolution. The animal kingdom, although so rich, has supplied hardly any fresh resources to the growing wants of the population. We live on the

few species which the art of old societies collected, and the discovery of the New World has only given us four domestic species, of which one is the turkey, although the primitive denizens of that hemisphere are daily being driven back by civilisation. It is time for science to apply itself to the material wants of society, and try to satisfy them according to its ability. The animal kingdom, regarded from an economic point of view, represents a certain amount of services rendered, which can be increased or diminished, in proportion as art brings a more or less effective action to bear on the domestic species. Many savage races are still left to conquer, many species already conquered have still to be improved. Domestic animals, the flesh and blood monuments of civilisation, are unfinished works; England has shown what can be done to ameliorate races, and how it was possible to produce out of the same matter new instruments of labour, and new means of subsistence. Acting thus is to increase the social capital of nations: social wealth is always conquered from nature, but in making the animal kingdom his ally, man interests in the termination of the struggle auxiliaries whom nature herself supplies him with: he directs and cultivates them, and augments their resources, and on the completion of the obstinate task, reaps what he has sown upon the field of life.

CHAPTER XII.

SIEGE OF HAARLEM—DESPERATE RESISTANCE—MARCHING OF THE SPANIARDS—DELFT—MURDER OF WILLIAM THE SILENT—THE BROTHERS DE WITT—HORRIBLE DEATH—THE INVENTOR OF TYPOGRAPHY—THE GERMAN CLAIMS—THE WESTREENIAN MUSEUM — SMALL TRADES — TULIPOMANIA — THE ROYAL ARCHIVES—THE UNION OF UTRECHT—THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA—RIJSWIJK—SIEGE OF GRONINGEN.

THERE is no history so little known as that of Holland. The limits imposed on the national tongue by a restricted territory, the reserve natural to the Dutch character, and the wounded pride of the great Powers with whom the small republic formerly disputed so valiantly both land and sea, are probably the causes why events so worthy of memory found but slight echo beyond the stage on which they were performed. Dutch writers have, it is true, protested against this silence and oblivion, but who has read them? I purpose to point out a few of the sources from which the history of the Netherlands should be drawn: as I have already shown what the Dutch nation is at the present day, I have still to show

how its institutions, trade, and external relations were developed.

What is the origin of the present population of the Netherlands? The general opinion of historians—especially of Junius, Dousa, Grotius, and Scriverius—is that the modern Netherlanders are descended from the ancient Batavians. The Batavi were always allies of the Romans, and even after the insurrection of these barbarians under Civilis, friendly relations were re-established between them and the conquerors of the world. We can understand that the self-love of the Dutch attaches considerable importance to a pedigree which gives them as source, a free and brave people fighting by the side of the first nation in the world. This historical point, however, has been controverted; exhausted by continued levies of troops, and by sanguinary battles, where success was often due to their valour, the Batavi, the last supporters of a tottering empire, were probably crushed and annihilated in the fall of ancient Rome. The floods of the Germanic nations, the Saxons, Franks, and Cauchæ, when they dashed over the confines of the Roman empire, must have swept far away the allies and brothers in arms of the overthrown people (*socii, amici, et sodales populi Romani*), and effaced the traces of a social existence which was odious to them. In fact, about the year 470, the name of the Batavi dis-

appears from history, never to return; and no mention is made of it among the changes that the scene of their old power underwent. "This nation," says Wagenaar, a Dutch historian of the eighteenth century, "seems to have been partly exterminated by the Latin armies, partly transplanted by the Romans, partly destroyed or torn from the native soil by the adventurers who came from the North, and partly mingled with the Franks, Saxons, and Frisons, so thoroughly that, after the fifth century, it is difficult to find much Batavian blood in the veins of those who inhabited the ancient territory of these barbarians." Such reasons must appear specious from the historic stand-point, but modern physiology appreciates facts otherwise. Deluges of men may hurry up and cover the earth, as the waves of Ocean do; but the qualities of the original race do not the less remain imprinted on the national history, soil, manners, and character: it has created the mould. Ethnological science hence justifies the opinion of Grotius, who asserts that the invaders of the isle of Batavia (*insula Batavorum*) were absorbed one after the other by the influence of the Batavians.

I will merely roughly sketch the principal changes the Netherlands underwent during the feudal period. From the tenth century (923) Holland was governed by counts, and the other provinces also had chiefs more or less dependent

on the emperor: Utrecht had its bishops, Gelderland its dukes, Friesland its princes or kings. All these provinces, and those of modern Belgium —Artois and French Flanders—oppressed each other in turn, while nearly all suffered terribly from the invasion of the Normans. By degrees, either through marriages or conquests, a political agglomeration of the various parts of the Netherlands was formed, though even up to our day traces of the old states, separate from and almost independent of the empire, are found among the Frisons, in Gelderland, further on in Holland properly so called, and in Belgium among the Walloons and Flemings. The celebrated and romantic Jacqueline of Bavaria found herself compelled to surrender the county of Holland, which passed over to the house of Burgundy. Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, had already brought under his authority nearly the whole of the Netherlands and Belgium, and had conceived the plan of raising them to a kingdom, to which he intended to give the name of his duchy, but the emperor, Frederick III., and Louis XI. of France thwarted this plan. At length Charles V. extended his sceptre over all the provinces of the Netherlands, which he left as an inheritance to Philip II. But the members were far from composing an uniform body; and each province retained its estates, with a governor and lieutenant, or stadt-

houder. Hence, when Philip II., aspiring to a species of religious and political unity, wished to crush these relics of a scattered nationality, he met with an indomitable resistance. Under his government, moreover, the Netherlands were inundated by his countrymen, whose haughty and fastidious character offended the simple and free genius of the Frisons, Saxons, and Flemings. A catastrophe was inevitable: already the province of Holland formed the nucleus of the union which had long been prepared against the artificial unity attempted by the foreigner. This province, successively possessed by the houses of Lorraine, Hainault, Bavaria, Burgundy, Austria, and lastly by the Spaniards, had suffered various changes of fortune, more or less forced upon it, until the day when, following the example of the other confederate provinces, it seized its national independence.

The life of nations commences with liberty, and hence, in spite of the interest the chivalrous ages may present,* my historical researches will be

* It is curious to see how the mediæval regime terminated in the Netherlands. The sovereignty of these small feudal states has been more than once an article of trade. The independent lordship of the island of Ameling was sold by the heirs of the last Seigenur, Van Camminga, at a public auction to the Stadthouder of Friesland for the sum of 170,000 florins. Another lordship, Westerwolde, in Groningen, was bought by a Dutch merchant, William van den Hoove, who sold it again to the city of Groningen in 1619 for the sum of 140,300 florins.

limited to the *renaissance* of the Netherlands under the influence of a constitution they gave themselves. The history of Holland, starting from this epoch, is handed down to us by three orders of testimony, of very different nature; first, by local documents and traditions, next by historical works properly so called, and lastly by the narratives of the daring sailors who founded the colonial grandeur of Holland.

One of the periods of Dutch history which has left most traces on the memorials and external physiognomy of the cities of the Netherlands, is the great movement which, in the sixteenth century, upheaved the living strength of the nation against foreign domination. Starting from Brielle, the first place the Dutch got possession of, we can follow step by step the progress and alternations of this sacred war. Haarlem, for instance, still bears the scars of the heroic and desperate struggle it sustained against the Spaniards. I walked more than once round the old ramparts of this ancient fortress, which are now rent by gaps, and the new houses standing between the bastions, which have been pierced by the trees, whose roots have sunk into the very stone, and which cast a shadow over the surface of the canal; and the sight of this circumvallation and of the gloomy gates retraced for me the various incidents of the siege. The ramparts of Haarlem were in a bad condition, but

the patriotism of the inhabitants undertook to defend the old city, and such a bulwark proved impregnable.

The siege of Haarlem preceded that of Leyden. Warnings were not wanting. Amsterdam, which had not yet declared itself openly for the cause of the Reformation and independence, represented to the inhabitants of Haarlem the dangers of the resistance they were undertaking, the number and discipline of the enemy's army, and the slight confidence that could be placed in the Prince of Orangé, who had not yet succeeded in raising a single siege. On hearing this counsel of human prudence the citizens hesitated, but a bold and animated address from Wybald van Ripperda, captain in the civic guard, overcame their irresolution. He reminded them of the blood of their fellow citizens, which had recently flowed on the ruins of Naarden, and of the fidelity they had sworn to the Prince of Orange. This harangue was received with an unanimous cry of enthusiasm. "Yes," the citizens of Haarlem responded, "each of us will give his life for the defence of the city and the triumph of the good cause." The images were immediately torn down from the churches, and the Reformed worship was everywhere established. On December 9, 1572, Don Frederick, lieutenant of the Duke of Alva, marched upon Haarlem, with sixty companies of

Spanish infantry, sixteen of Germans, twenty of Walloons, and 1,500 horse. These forces were crushing, compared with those of the besieged, for the garrison at the outset did not exceed 1,500 men, but each citizen became a soldier. The very women ran to arms. Kenau Hasselaer, a widow of some rank and of very considerable fortune, formed a regiment of three hundred women, who, while retaining the costume of their sex, did not the less display a masculine intrepidity. The siege operations began with evil auspices for the besieged; Don Frederick, covered by a thick fog as by a cloak, seized the fort of Sparendam, situated a short distance from the city, and was thus enabled to throw up his offensive works and intrenchments without being disturbed by the fire of the garrison. I will abridge the story of this memorable siege. Scarcely was a breach made ere it was closed with timber, sacks, earth, and anything ready to hand. The inhabitants spent the long winter nights in building an inner wall, taller and stronger than the old, which threatened to fall down. Rich and poor, adults and children, men and women, everybody ran to the defensive works, and wielded pick and spade. Hardly a day passed that a storm was not attempted, and more than once the Dutch dashed into the enemy's trenches, and plundered and burnt his tents.

The cold was severe, but winter became an ally:

the elements seemed to take the part of Holland. The inhabitants of Haarlem constantly received from those of Leyden provisions and ammunition, which were conveyed on sledges over the lake converted into a sea of ice, and reinforcements of troops reached them in the same way. Unfortunately for the besieged, the severity of the season relaxed, and spring, which rejoices nature, aggravated the sad condition of the city. Although the Spaniards had made wide breaches near the gates of the Cross and Saint John, their assaults were twice repulsed, and after seven months of fruitless hostilities, and after sustaining a loss of from ten to twelve thousand men, they were compelled to raise the siege and convert it into a blockade. Bossu, however, profited by the thaw to cut the dyke which retained the waters between the Y and Haarlemmer Meer, and by these means opened a passage through which a squadron composed of sixty gun-boats passed and cruised off the city. The lake has been punished for it; the historian will now seek in vain the waves of the child of Holland, which, as the poet says, "Dared to bear the hostile ships into the interior of the country."

In the meanwhile the situation of the blockaded city became with each day more lamentable; the provisions were beginning to fail; a great number of the inhabitants had perished of hunger, and the streets were encumbered with the sick and dying.

The friends of the besieged tried several times to send them provisions, but unsuccessfully. The inhabitants then resolved to form themselves into a corps, place their wives and children in the centre, and cut their way sword in hand through the enemy's lines. The German troops in the city alone refused to join in so audacious an enterprise. Informed of this intention, and fearing the effect of desperation, the Spaniards sent a flag of truce, offering forgiveness and an amnesty on the condition that the city surrendered, and placed fifty-seven of the chief inhabitants in the hands of the *legitimate masters.* It was also agreed that the citizens could protect their houses and property from plunder by the payment of 240,000 florins. Such harsh conditions would never have been accepted had not the word clemency been uttered by the enemy. When the Spaniards entered the city, they found the garrison reduced from four thousand to eighteen hundred. Three days elapsed; the promise given was trusted, and the inhabitants had laid down their arms. Suddenly Ripperda, the governor of the city, and the fifty-seven notables given as hostages, were executed, and four executioners then began their horrible task, and two thousand men, among them being soldiers of the garrison, citizens, and ministers of the Protestant faith, were immolated in cold blood. When the

butchery came to an end, through the exhaustion of the assassins, the victims that remained in the prisons were bound two and two and cast into Haarlem lake. The siege had lasted from December, 1572, until July, 1573. The sad result of such a long and valiant resistance at first spread consternation through the United Provinces; but a cause is not lost so long as the feeling of right is not extinct. Four years later, the Dutch regained possession of Haarlem. The reminiscences of the siege are preserved in the City Hall, an elegant building, where I saw, not without emotion, an old picture representing the state of this hapless city during the gloomy days in which it gave the Netherlands an example of heroic resistance.

The history of Holland, as we stated, tells itself in its monuments: it is everywhere visible and in some sense alive: hitherto it has only needed an historian.*

Let us take, for example, the tragical death of William the Silent: the slightest circumstances of the crime are explained and commented on by a sight of the spot, and the objects which the conservative spirit of the Dutch has saved from oblivion. The scene takes place at Delft, in an old massive building, with deep-set windows, a

* This was written, *nota bene*, before Mr. Motley's great work appeared, but the passage has been left standing, because it is still true as regards French historians of Holland.—L. W.

narrow door, and a common-place *bas-relief* above it. This house, which is now converted into barracks, has retained the name of Prinsenhof, and it was the residence of the Prince of Orange. On that day the Prince had just finished dinner, and we can follow the road he took across a court-yard leading to an antique staircase in the Flemish taste. Here the assassin was concealed, and a Dutch inscription tells you on which step the "Father of the country" fell, while marks on the walls show where the bullets struck. The shot was necessarily fired point-blank, and the bullet extracted from the wound is preserved in the museum at the Hague, with the coat the Prince wore on that day—a plain leather jerkin, stained with blood, and bullet-pierced, which still bears traces of powder. You can follow the flight of the assassin, Balthazar Gerards; here, behind the house of William the Silent, are the ramparts he scaled, and the canal he proposed to swim across. Opposite the mansion of the Prince is an old church, and upon it a leaning tower surmounted by four stone cones. The church of stern architecture, and whose lines have been effaced by time, appears, as it were, saddened by the memory of a crime. It was in one of the rooms of this aged tower that Gerards was imprisoned during the night that followed the assassination, and the copy of the sentence by which he was condemned to

death is to be seen in the Hague Museum. I saw, too, at Delft the room to which the wounded Prince was conveyed, and I fancied I could hear in this gloomy and stern hall the last words of William the Silent: "Oh God, oh God, have pity on me and my poor people!" He expired in the arms of his sister and his wife, a daughter of Coligny, who had already seen her father killed in a similar way during St. Bartholomew's night.

After death, the apotheosis. As usually happens, the assassin had missed his object: he fancied he had struck down in the Prince of Orange the cause of the Reformation, but had, on the contrary, given that cause the consecration of martyrdom. There is at Delft, on the grand square, in front of the town-house, a church of a more delicate style than the old edifice facing the house of William the Silent. This "new church" is the Westminster Abbey of Holland, and here stands the tomb raised by the United Provinces to the memory of their Liberator. Without sharing the admiration of the Dutch for this monument, which leaves much to be desired from an artistic point of view, I visited with deep interest the last residence of a great man, who founded and respected the liberties of the old Netherlands. William the Silent was not exempt from faults: some historians reproach him, not without reason, with a dissimulated ambition: perhaps he died

opportunely for his glory, but it would be unjust to misunderstand the services he rendered the Netherlands. The Dutch have not forgotten one of the circumstances in the life of the Prince, and one of his attachments ; they have given him as companion of his last sleep a faithful ally, a friend—his dog. The figure of the animal is carved in marble, and reposes at the feet of its master's statue. This dog, it is said, saved the life of the Prince during a night surprise : and tradition adds, that after the death of its master, it voluntarily died of hunger. In the Netherlands poetry attaches itself to these reminiscences of private life.

The history of the Netherlands contains sanguinary pages : but what history is without them ? At the Hague stands the *Binnenhof*, a mass of houses and buildings belonging to different architectural styles, somewhat surprised at finding themselves together, but whose effect is imposing. Here the old States-General and Estates of the province of Holland used to sit ; and inside this court-yard fell, at the beginning of the 17th century, the head of the aged Oldenbarneveldt, one of the founders of the Republic of the United Provinces, who died the martyr of a political dogma, that of the delimitation of powers in a free State. Here I visited with considerable interest the Hall in which the first Chamber of the kingdom now holds its sittings ; and it is full of

recollections. On the walls, decorated as they were at that time, you fancy you can see rising to take part in the deliberations the shades of the brothers De Witt, and of all the statesmen who founded the maritime and political power of the United Provinces. The eye of the historian seeks their places in these spots which witnessed their elevation and their honourable fall. The tragical death of the De Witts is, so to speak, written on the stones of the prison, situated a few yards from the Binnenhof. This prison, called the *Gevangen-poort*, still exists; and it runs through the thickness of the old walls in the form of a corridor. I saw the room in which Cornelis de Witt was confined, on the false charge of having aimed at the life of the Prince of Orange. The prisoner had just undergone torture, and was lying on the bed with a crushed body, but an indomitable soul. All the time the punishment lasted, he met suffering with a calm brow, his accusers with a firm and disdainful glance, and his judges with the Horatian line, *Justum et tenacem propositi virum.* By his side his brother read the Bible to him. John de Witt, ex-pensionary of Holland, had come to the prison on hearing that his brother wished to see him, but it was a trap. Men armed with axes and hammers beat at the gate, and the gaoler, either intimidated or bribed, yielded to their menaces. The furious mob rushed up the

staircase to the room in which were the brothers De Witt, who, in the midst of all this tumult, retained an admirable coolness. The victims were compelled to rise and follow their enemies to the square: the two brothers embraced as a final farewell, and prepared to descend the stairs. They had hardly gone a few steps, however, ere a powerful blow dealt from behind hurled Cornelis, who was leaning on John's arm, to the foot of the stairs. Dragged for some distance through the streets, trampled under foot, and hideously disfigured, he was soon but a corpse.

A little door formed in the wall is still shown in the arch that forms a communication between the Binnenhof and the Plaats; and it was through this door that John de Witt was taken out. The Plaats is a square surrounded by houses, in which blood has flowed more than once. A species of triangle of white paving-stones, with a block in the centre, shows that at this spot, on Dec. 22, 1392, was massacred Adelaide de Poelgeest, mistress of Albert, Count of Holland. In this square John de Witt appeared, with bare and bleeding head, before the multitude; and it was between the spot where Adelaide de Poelgeest perished and the trees of the Vijverberg, that, struck by a lance in the face, insulted, and wounded in the neck, he fell on his knees, raising his hands to heaven, and praying. At length a shot killed him. The

Vijverberg (mountain of the pond) forms a place which on one side is adorned with rows of trees, and on the other contains a pond; it is only in a flat country like Holland that so slight an elevation of the soil can obtain the name of *berg*. The corpse, hideously maltreated, was dragged to a grass-plot close to the place of execution, and called the *Groene Zoodje*. I leave to history the sad care of relating the acts of barbarity committed on the inanimate remains of these two great citizens. Engravings of the time, preserved in the collection of M. Wintgens, represent these atrocities, in which women took an active and execrable part; but night, at any rate, hid beneath her veil a portion of these horrors.

By the side of the traces of tragical events, the historian is glad to find the reminiscence of useful inventions, which augmented the prosperity and learning of the human race. Twelve cities of Greece disputed the honour of having given birth to Homer; and hence it is not surprising that two cities of modern Europe claim the honour of having served as the cradle of the invention of typography. I read at Haarlem, at the foot of a monument raised to the memory of Laurence Coster, the bold inscription: *Laurentio Costero, Harlunensi viro consulari, typographiæ inventori vero monumentum hoc erigi curavit collegium medicum.* The titles on which this national claim

is based are deposited in the town-house of Haarlem, in the public library of the Hague, and in some private collections, among others those of Messrs. Enschede and Schinkel. These typographical records, which are at the same time the witnesses, certainly claim the attention of the historian. One of the first books assumed to have been printed at the press of Laurence Coster, is the *Speculum Salvàtionis Humanæ.* It is preserved in the town-house with the Apocalypse, the *Ars Moriendi,* the "History of the Virgin Mary," and a few other works. The inexhaustible kindness of the Hague librarians opened to me the treasures of the collection of *incunabula,* one of the richest and most curious in the world. Here is a copy of the "Bible of the Poor," imprinted in fixed characters. You are able to follow, in these artistically collected and confronted fragments, the passage from tabular printing to moveable types. The Hague library possesses, among others, an unique piece of evidence in the shape of a most ancient and perfect Donatus. More than six hundred typographical specimens thus recount the infancy of an invention to which modern civilisation is indebted for a portion of its moral conquests. Most of the earliest specimens of the typographic art have been found by accident in the bindings of old books. The result that the bibliophilists of the

Netherlands draw from this collection of *incunabula* is, that from 1420 to 1440 there existed at Haarlem a printing-office, in which moveable types were employed for the first time.

Impartiality compels me to state that Germany treats these claims with profound disdain. "If you have," the opposite party say, "typographical specimens whose date is anterior to the Mayence Bible, printed in 1457, show them; if not, hold your tongues. What is proved by your clumsy pages of forgotten and anonymous books, except that your printers were not up to their work? Because they did it badly you draw the conclusion that they were the first printers; but we think that they were not clever enough to imitate good models." What do the Dutchmen reply to this? "A discovery is not at once produced in a perfect state. That period of infancy and groping, which marks the dawn of all human invention, we find exactly in the features of our embryonic typography. Your Mayence Bible, on the contrary, bears the seal of a highly-advanced art, and printing could not have commenced in that fashion. A German chronicle of 1499 proves that, if the typographic art was developed at Mayence, it was first discovered in Holland. The Latin and German expressions your chroniclers employ to describe typography rather indicate the improvement of a discovery, than the dis-

covery itself, for they attribute to Gutenberg the *adinventio* or *Urbildung.*"

I tried to form a deliberate judgment between the two parties, and the matter was perhaps easier to me than to the Germans and Dutch, for I was a disinterested party in the dispute. If we adhere solely to material facts and known dates, the invention of typography indubitably belongs to Germany: but if we call in moral induction, if we take the trouble to compare and verify types, and if we collect the historical *indicia*, we arrive at the conclusion that prior to the Bible of 1457, there existed in Holland, according to all probability, a typographical school. This school had a character of its own, a clumsy character, the infancy of the art. It held its own for some time, without borrowing anything from Germany, improving step by step, but always in its own type and manner. It has left in Holland numerous memorials which are found nowhere else, neither in England, nor in Germany, nor in France, nor Italy. Printing went on thus progressing of itself until the day when German workmen arrived in Holland, bringing with them Gutenberg's types,

Laurence Coster, whose true name was Lourens Janszoon Koster, was a citizen of Haarlem, where he was born *circà* 1370. He performed the duties of city treasurer, and held some other important offices. You are shown on the square,

opposite the cathedral, the spot where his workshop stood, *Costeri œdes typographiæ natales.* In 1823, during the fourth jubilee of this invention, which the Dutch claim, a monument was erected in honour of Coster in the city wood (*Haarlemmer hout*). Holland also raised in 1856 a new statue to the presumed inventor of typography, which was the occasion of enthusiastic festivities. The Dutch claim, in the matter of typography, another glory which no one disputes with them; to them are owing the glorious editions which form the joy of amateurs, and the history of the Elzevirs ought to be written in the Netherlands.

The *Museum Westreenianum*,* at the Hague, open to the public once a month, according to the instructions of the legatee, contains several of these small *chefs d'œuvre*, which might be said to be printed with letters cut in diamonds. The Dutch printing-offices also rendered literature and philosophy good service by welcoming, in the 17th and 18th centuries, French thought proscribed at

* The founder of this museum was an eccentric, and, during his lifetime, no friend, colleague, or even director of the Royal Library at the Hague, was allowed to inspect the treasures he accumulated secretly and incessantly. One day, however, he resolved to admit the directors of the library to this Eldorado of the typographic art, on the condition that they should wear dressing-gowns without pockets, and he should show them round himself; but at the last moment his heart failed him, and no one ever again proposed to visit the Westreenian Museum until the death of its founder.

that day in France and over the whole world. Nearly all the great writers of the age of Louis XIV., and after them the Encyclopædists, found in the Amsterdam presses the means for spreading their influence over Europe. These editions of works which could not see light in the countries where they were conceived made the reputation of several publishing houses, but the Revolution of '89, by introducing into France the liberty of the press, soon subtracted all the sap which fed this branch of trade in Holland. At the present day those publishing houses that offered hospitality to liberal ideas, and made the fortune of certain names while enriching themselves, are only a recollection, but it deserves dwelling on.

If we descend to narrate the social history of Holland, the appearance of the country and people, if attentively examined, would also serve to complete, in more than one point, written testimony. On observing the Dutch closely, you notice at once that one of the principal features of their genius is to obtain infinitely great results from infinitely small matters. Nowhere else, I firmly believe, can so many hands be found employed in collecting and transforming objects to which nature has imparted but a slight value. I saw at Zwol, sailing vessels completely laden with bullrushes that grow on the islands and marshes of North Holland, and they are used for making mats—an

obscure trade, which, however, employs thousands of families. At Noordwolde, the manufacture of small baskets is a source of labour and comfort. All that enables men to live, all that supplies an agricultural or manufacturing population with food and clothing, is respectable. The streams of the Netherlands support little fish, whose scales are employed in the manufacture of false pearls; the capture of these fish; fattening calves on the shores of the Zuyderzee; the cultivation of turnips in North Holland; the manufacture of wooden shoes; the training of fruit trees; all these humble and occult forces of the public fortune, have contributed, to a certain extent, in producing the flourishing condition of a country which has sustained lengthened wars against the elements and foreign powers. In Over-Yessel hunting wild ducks produces results which are not to be despised,* nor must we forget the maritime trades. Fishing for oysters and mussels is a source of wealth for the population of Zealand and the Texel.†

* This hunting is besides one of the most ingenious processes imaginable. Tame ducks rise in the air and attract the wild ducks: small dogs, trained for the purpose, pursue the latter upon the marshes or along the banks of a canal, where they catch themselves in nets. The man who manages the hunt holds in his hand burning sods in order to conceal himself behind the smoke, and has thus discovered the art of invisibility.

† The western side of the Texel supplied in 1853 forty boats engaged in wresting these mollusks from the winds and waves. The inhabitants of the island, moreover, engaged in

The Dutch mind, though so minute and practical, has, however, not always resisted the attraction of chimeras. Some old houses in Haarlem bear Dutch inscriptions announcing that the owners of these venerable mansions formerly suffered great losses, owing to the numerous perturbations that befel fortunes. These mysterious inscriptions refer to the tulipomania; though the love of flowers played but a secondary part in these financial combinations. The inno-

the fishery during a part of the year dredged 590,000 oysters, the sale of which produced 6000 florins. In Zealand, the mussel and oyster fishery was carried on at Bruinisse in 1853 with seventy boats. The shell-fish are drawn out of the sea with iron nets. A fishmonger at the Hague told me one day his tribulation and disappointment in an enterprise, which at the outset offered a good chance of success. The Scheveningen fishermen came to tell him that they had discovered an oyster bank a little distance from the coast, and the dealer, seduced by the prospect, purchased in Zealand a considerable amount of material, and himself set out with the fishermen to manage the expedition. The oyster bank was found at the spot indicated; but the Scheveningen boats were not built so as to render the new experiment a success. They were neither strong nor deep enough to resist the rolling of the sea, and, tossed by the waves, the nets could only touch the oyster bank, which was not stirred. This mine, that promised such excellent results, had to be abandoned, and the dealer returned with a dozen oysters, which cost him 6000 florins, "and yet," he added, "the bank is still there." This trade is, besides, full of risks: there are winters in which the owner of a bank loses ten thousand oysters at a blow. These chances explain the high price of the mollusk, which is in great demand among Dutch epicures.

cent tulips were the pretext, not the object of the time bargains in which the brokers of the age engaged with extreme fury. The famous bulbs were placed on a level with the funds, and, like them, were bought and sold at prices that varied daily. Persons settled their accounts at fixed periods, and there was produced a new and wonderful game, in which all the citizens wagered against one another. "Before the tulip season was over," a Dutch writer states, "there were more bulbs quoted on Change than, in all probability, the gardens of Holland could supply." Some of these bulbs, in fact, never existed; and the *Semper Augustus*, which was the object of frenzied purchases and sales, was never seen in flower. At that day, the gambling in tulips was equal to that which now goes on in *Crédit Mobilier* shares, and the Dutch Government was obliged to take measures to repress this thirst for gambling. At the present day, tulips have ceased to possess a financial value, but they do not the less continue to expand, valuably and haughtily, in the beds of florists. I visited at Haarlem these historic archives of floriculture, and the picked tulips collected in these natural museums certainly appeared to me very fine, though not finer (I humbly confess my ignorance) than other common tulips before which connoisseurs shrug their shoulders. Some of these extravagant

mistresses, for which the old lovers ruined themselves, still cost considerable sums (1000 florins for instance); but these prices, extravagant though they be, no longer represent the chimerical value formerly set on flowers that were never seen; and that was perhaps their great merit.

Two public institutions also throw a light on the previous history of the Netherlands; they are the collection of medals at the Hague, and the archives of the kingdom.* The numismatic collection is very rich, and the whole period of the Reformation, the War of Independence, the principal events of the republic, and the celebrated

* It is only fifty years since Mr. Henry van Royen, a member of the First Chamber, proposed to collect all the charters and other documents, hitherto left in charge of the various public and provincial administrations. This proposal was accepted, and Mr. van Wijn, who undertook the work, received the title of Archivist. A great number of documents, referring to the time of the counts of Holland, and charters were discovered by him in the attics, under the roof, and in one of the towers of the Binnenhof at the Hague. These documents and MSS. had not seen light for ages. Mr. van Wijn also examined the archives of Zealand and Hainault, and brought back from his tour more than two hundred charters of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and the original seal of William, King of the Romans. In addition to the archives of the kingdom at the Hague, for some time past steps have been taken to put in order the provincial and local archives, which offer a fruitful mine for the better appreciation of facts little known or badly interpreted hitherto. In this way the archives of Utrecht, Gelderland, Friesland, Amsterdam, and other towns have supplied ample materials for the researches of the archivists, Messrs. Nyhoff, Eekhoff, Scheltema, &c.

men, are revived here in bronze, gold, silver, or precious stones. The archives at the Hague occupy a large building on the *Plein*, where the deputies of the province of Holland formerly assembled. The present keeper of the archives, Mr. Backhuyzen, is a man of talent and learning, who has discovered new treasures for historical students in this world of old papers. He was kind enough to serve me as guide through the rooms, in which the epochs are piled shelf on shelf, from the earliest period to our day. Among the venerable parchments unrolled before me I will mention a most valuable document—an address of the different cities of the Netherlands, proposing to confer on the Prince of Orange the title of Count, which was almost equivalent to that of Sovereign of the Low Countries. The seals of all these cities, moulded in virgin wax, constitute in themselves a curious heraldic memorial. This address was drawn up, by the consent of several provinces, a short period before the death of William the Silent. The learned jurisconsult, J. D. Meyer, delivered an academic address, in which he investigated the projects that existed at the time to give a crown to William the Silent, and in which he explains and defends the motives of this resolution from his standpoint. The Netherland communes, on escaping from the Spanish rule, required a tie representing the feudal suzerainty:

The death of William the Silent adjourned the realisation of these plans, by giving birth to a mixed republic, composed on one side of aristocratic and federalist elements, on the other of democratic elements, although the former were predominant. The Stathouder, or executive power, found a support in the masses, which sought in him a supreme head, whose hand might defend them against the tyranny of the great men and patricians, and their watchword was—*Orange boven!* or "Orange for ever!" The states were supported by the regencies of the cities which held sovereign sway in their own regions, and incessant struggles, full of incidents, resulted from the antagonism of two powers of which the first ever tried to keep the other in subjection. The Stathouderate was from time to time abolished, but the wars the country had to sustain ever brought back this vague and indefinite authority, to which, however, the recollection of William the Silent gave a *prestige* dangerous to the public liberties. At all moments of crisis the nation felt the necessity of personifying itself in a man, and this man was at such a time the more preponderant, because his authority was based on necessity, the blind enthusiasm of the multitude, and the shadow of a great name.

In the same archives I saw the MS. of the Union of Utrecht; this treaty was written and

signed on a quire of coarse, common paper, and all the United Provinces pledged themselves by it to throw off the yoke of Spain. This historical MS., of a simple and rude form, singularly contrasts with the treaty of Westphalia, written on magnificent parchment, and kept in a velvet box with gilt corners and locks. One of these two documents is, as it were, the sacred manger of Dutch liberty, the other its resurrection. This treaty of Westphalia commences with a curious sentence, "Wishing to put an end to the evils which war perpetuates among nations, ——." Mr. Backhuyzen, the archivist, drew my attention to the circumstance that the Spanish Government took a very long time to perceive these evils and evince their compassion. The deed of Union which founded the national existence of Holland dates from 1579; the deed that consecrated it, by the solemn declaration of Spain, is dated in 1648. Another important document, the one that restored peace to Europe, by terminating the war of the Spanish succession, was signed in 1713, at the old town hall of Utrecht, commonly known as *Het Huis van Loo*, and now converted into barracks. Holland was at that period the scene of political negociations between the Great Powers; at a league from the Hague is seen the spire of Rijswijk church, a little village, near which, in 1697, another treaty of peace was concluded,

between England, Holland, France and Spain. This treaty was signed in a mansion belonging to the Prince of Orange, which has now disappeared, though an obelisk marks its site.*

The towns, and sometimes the villages of Holland, have especially retained two species of reminiscences, one referring to the great War of Independence, the other to the campaigns the country fought against Louis XIV. Thus, Groningen is remarkable for a festival commemorating the anniversary of the siege this city endured in 1672, under its great captain, Rabenhaupt, from the troops of the Bishop of Munster, who was an ally of the French King.

* Another and more interesting document, as it refers to modern history, is a letter addressed to Louis Bonaparte, the King of Holland, and announcing to him the birth of a son in Paris, at the palace of the Tuileries. On this same letter, which I have seen at the Hague, the unfortunate king, and more unfortunate husband, has written with a nervous and angry hand: "Sent back to the Archives." Is it necessary to add that this son is the present ruler of France?

CHAPTER XIII.

A DUTCH ADAM AND EVE—USE OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE—THE CHAMBERS OF RHETORIC—HOOFDT—HISTORIANS OF THE NETHERLANDS—WAGENAAR—GREAT SUCCESS OF HIS HISTORY—BILDERDIJK'S OPPOSITION HISTORY—THE REPUBLIC OF CHEESE-MONGERS—MODERN DUTCH AUTHORS—THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—PRESENT CONDITION OF HOLLAND.

We have described some of the vestiges, which should be consulted by the man desirous of writing the history of the Netherlands from its memorials. If we now turn to historic literature, properly so called, we shall find another group of documents no less worthy of earnest attention. The Dutch have ever shown themselves very proud of their national language, to which some of them indeed assign a fabulous antiquity. A certain Jan Van Gorp wrote a book in which he proposed to prove that Adam and Eve spoke Dutch in the terrestrial Paradise. At the same time, and through a curious contradiction, this philologist, disdaining the most ancient language in the world, wrote his ideas in Latin. For a long time this disdain of the vulgar dialect was kept up among the savans and men of

letters. All the great writers of the great epoch, —Erasmus, Grotius, Heinsius, Vossius, Spinoza, Barlæus, and Arminius,—expressed themselves in the language of Pliny and Cicero. It cannot be said, however, that no Netherlands literature existed at that period. The idiom of the old Frisons, Batavians, and Belgians, was the Teutonic language in its various dialects, vestiges of which are still found in Dutch. From the fusion of these dialects was formed the old Netherlandic language, which dates back to the sixth century of our era. It underwent, during the middle ages, the vicissitudes that affected all the idioms of Europe, and passed through divers Norman, German, and French phases; but the basis of the primitive idiom was retained, and the Frison branch especially remained intact. There exist chronicles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries written in the national language, among which may be mentioned those of Maerlant, Melis Stoke, Louis de Velhem, and John de Helu, which have been republished or annotated during the exploring movement which has been developed throughout Europe during the last quarter of a century. The works of Professors Jonckblaet, De Vries, David, and others, sufficiently testify that Holland and Belgium have not remained behindhand in the search after historical and literary treasures. I will restrict myself to a mention of a very old poem, entitled

Natuurkunde (Philosophy of Nature), in which the author speaks of the planets, "those candles of the atmosphere," the stars, "that sing marvellous choruses," and the demons, "knights of darkness, living in ether, and doing men all sorts of injury." A Dutch Catholic, Mr. Alberdingk Thijin, has also exhumed several other primitive memorials of the Netherlandic language.

The Burgundian influences, however, altered the original character of the ancient literature of Holland. The Netherlandic language daily lost ground among the higher classes, and it is certain that the roots of the national idioms were powerfully attacked by the political shocks, the emigration and the invasion of refugees from all countries, who sought an asylum in Holland. This idiom was consequently neglected by those wits and writers who aimed at celebrity; and Van Baarle, who lived at the end of the sixteenth century, addressed the following remonstrance to two young poets, whose patron he was:—"What language do we Netherlanders speak? an idiom composed of words borrowed from a foreign jargon. We are only a nomadic band of Catti led by hazard to the mouths of the Rhine, then why should we not adopt in preference the sacred language of Rome? The powerful descendants of Romulus formerly encamped on the plains we now inhabit." It is fortunate that this advice was not followed; for, if

the Dutch had not possessed a language, they would never have regained their nationality. Had it not been for the help of sermons preached in the vulgar idiom, and the publications of the prose and verse writing of Van Breederode and the leaders of the Chambers of Rhetoric, the Dutch population would never have been so aroused by the breath of language and ideas as they were in the middle of the sixteenth century. The founders of the national language and literature should, therefore, be held in respectful memory. The writings of Philip de Marnix had already appeared; already at Amsterdam a society of distinguished literary men was formed round Coornhert and Spieghel, Presidents of the Chamber of Rhetoric, which chose the motto, *In liefde blœyende* (blooming in love). This was the cradle of the literary regeneration, which was destined to pave the way for the religious and political regeneration.

Such was the state of mind and the movement of the national literature when Hoofdt appeared on the scene. Peter Cornelisszon Hoofdt studied at the University of Leyden, under Joseph Scaliger; and, while still young, felt the necessity of strengthening and developing his knowledge in the school of travel. Germany, France, and Italy offered him in turn a series of facts which he studied like a man ripe for reflection. On the banks of the Arno he was admitted to the Grand

Ducal Court and the Dellacruscan Society, and familiarised himself with the best productions of Italian literature. Dante taught him how a vulgar language should be drawn from the gloom of infancy, and these lessons were not lost. On returning to the Netherlands, Hoofdt displayed a great love for the language of his native land, and henceforth was anxious to impart to the Dutch dialect that eloquent character and those mental graces which adorn other idioms. Hoofdt retired to his Castle of Muiden, where he received a select society, and devoted himself by turns to the severe joys of study and the relaxations of friendship. One of his greatest pleasures was music, and the old walls of Muiden Castle, now black and tottering, more than once vibrated with the sound of the most harmonious voices of the age. Hoofdt's contemporaries praise his indefatigable memory and judgment, and in religious matters he displayed a toleration rare for the age in which he lived. A reformed pastor, who resided at Muiden, confessed that he owed much in this respect to the society of his host and friend. When this minister, in other points an excellent man, had thundered from his pulpit at the dissenters, Hoofdt invited him to dinner and gave him such excellent lessons in charity that the preacher became gradually softened, learned to endure the opinions of his adversaries, and dis-

played greater indulgence. In his conversation, the owner of Muiden Castle evinced exquisite affability; and his exterior, his dress, and manners, which he would never submit to the caprices and fluctuations of passion, expressed that old Dutch simplicity, which was not without a nobility of its own. A man of such great mental impartiality, such antique wisdom, and in a social condition which brought him into intimacy with the principal personages of his age, was naturally prepared to write history. Hoofdt was a poet, and indeed one of the greatest poets of Holland, which in no way affected his judgment; but we have to do pre-eminently with the historian. Conversant with state affairs, witness of the glorious struggles which had drawn his country out of nullity, enthusiastic for the political grandeur and maritime glory of the United Provinces, which was overshadowed, however, by a sanguinary cloud, he undertook a voluminous work, to which he gave the title of *Nederlandsche Historien.*

Previous to this history, several works, memoirs, or special narratives of combats, sieges and memorable events, had appeared in Holland and Belgium. We will merely mention the "History of the Events of 1500—1566," by James Van Wesenbeeck, a pensioned Councillor of Antwerp, and the very detailed narratives of Bor and Van Meteren. All these works erred in their form, for they had the

prolix and monotonous style of Chronicles. Hoofdt came, and Holland, who had just reconquered her rights, also recovered her annals. He preceded the great work of his life by writing, in 1618, a memoir of Henri Quatre, in which a vigorous picture of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew will be found. In 1626, Hoofdt at length began his History of the Netherlands, to which he devoted the rest of his life, till 1647. His letters, of which a new edition was recently published, attest the extraordinary pains he took to avoid any error: he surrounded himself with the counsels and knowledge of special men, such as James Wytz, his friend Huyghens, father of the great Geometrician, and some other diplomatists who had played a great part in the negotiations. What strikes us in this work is an air of truth, grandeur, and historical majesty; but the author, while founding the national language, cannot entirely isolate himself from the literary influences of the age. The study of the classic authors had been too familiar to him not to enthral his ideas even under the new form he desired to rehabilitate. The imitation of the antique style stifled in him, at least partially, that originality we should be glad to find in a primitive historian. Our readers shall judge from a few lines that serve as the opening of his narrative.

"I undertake to write a history rich in vicissitudes and incidents, terrible in battles and naval engagements, sieges,

full of a gloomy animosity agitated by rebellion, painful to narrate on account of the murders with which it is sullied, through the oblivion of the laws of warfare; a history rendered heartbreaking by the cruelties committed even in peace. Successes over foreign Powers, truces, intestine factions, and the wars springing from them; flames suddenly stifled; peace again, but not durable. The inhabitants trembling beneath the lash and impelled to arms; cities troubled, churches violated, provinces devastated, morality and religion ruined. Men striking each other and calling down on themselves the scourges of Heaven; earthquakes, epidemic diseases, famine, severe winters, frightful inundations, villages, cattle, and men submerged. The heads of the government driven out; princes proscribed, despoiled of their states and their subjects; all Europe crowded with exiles; bitter hostilities at the Court; laws, privileges, and regulations trampled under foot; two of the noblest heads of Christendom * falling with the bravest gentlemen on the scaffold; the Prince of Orange odiously assassinated in the heart of Holland, in spite of the watchfulness of courtiers and guards. The ruling House (whose destiny depends on but two persons) divided, and the only son of the king,† heir presumptive to the Empire, put to death by his father's orders; a multitude of the inhabitants falling under the hand of the executioner for the sake of religion. Shedding innocent blood esteemed an exploit; the life and property of every man menaced and rarely spared. Those who could not be convicted of heresy and rebellion, accused of connivance with heretics and rebels; birth and wealth suspected as a crime; virtue become the most dangerous of possessions, especially moderation and silence. Rogues and brigands promoted to public offices, an elevation as odious as the deeds of these hideous villains are disgusting; some among them seizing on the bishoprics and the various ecclesiastical dignities, others grasping temporal honours;

* Counts Egmont and Horn.

† Don Carlos.

doing everything that passed through their minds, and laying a brutal hand on the rudder of the state. Citizens urged against citizens, relations against relations, and the man who had no enemies betrayed by his own friends.

"Still these unhappy times were not so denuded of virtues that they may not offer some edifying examples. The life and fortune of a brother entrusted to a brother, and that trust respected; an unblenching faith kept up by men belonging to different creeds; secret savings voluntarily offered to the cause of the Netherlands and of liberty; a profound piety, a just zealousness for good works; the house, the hearth abandoned through attachment to disinterested convictions. Death, what do I say? even the severest tortures endured with constancy; the greatest generosity displayed in the rage of combat; mercy overpowering the love of gain and sparing an enemy without any hope of recompense; wisdom, exactitude, and foresight in the councils. The most delicate and difficult negotiations led to a result through an extreme reserve, an indefatigable perseverance, and the State vessel successfully steered to port through the most violent tempests;—so that, altogether, in the course of several centuries, it would be impossible to find the matter of more instructive events in what concerns the progress of human affairs, more strange and worthy of observation, or more suitable to found principles and instruct nations."

This quotation is sufficient to give an idea of Hoofdt's qualities and defects as historian. His qualities are energy, conciseness, and gravity: his defects are emphasis, seeking well-turned sentences, and, before all, the imitation of Tacitus. Although Hoofdt is indubitably the first historian, and one of the most remarkable writers of Holland, I prefer seeking in the literature of the Netherlands a more simple and original mind, which saw its age

and country through its present impressions, and not through a reflection of antiquity; will such an historian be found in Jan Wagenaar? He has not the severe and dictatorial style of Hoofdt, and we may even say with Mr. Groen Van Prinsterer that he is a mediocre writer. Enthusiasm, lofty views, or colouring, must not be expected from him: his style is clear, but cold and dragging, and his thought without elevation. He has been christened too indulgently the Dutch Hume. Born at Amsterdam in 1709, he was brought up to trade, a circumstance to which may be attributed the positive character of his mind, which is specially inclined to details, and his style, which also deserves the epithet of *bourgeois*. His work has also been attacked for the disproportionate extent occupied in it by the history of Holland, compared with that of the other United Provinces. It would, however, be unjust to refuse Wagenaar a very rare merit; he was a scrupulous collector of facts and documents, and in this way he rendered a great service to those who have written and may still write the history of the Netherlands. His work, published at intervals, between 1749 and 1759, first appeared in twenty large volumes, but their number was doubled by additions and continuations, partly edited by Wagenaar's pupil, the archivist, Van Wyn, and this continuation appeared during the second half of the century. This

voluminous work is entitled "History of the Country and of the United Provinces, specially of the Province of Holland, from the most remote period up to 1751."

The "History of the Country" enjoyed a prodigious reputation for a long time, principally among the middle classes. Wagenaar, in spite of his great pretensions to impartiality, openly espoused the cause of the Estates in this long historic struggle between the two Powers. It is pleasant to follow in his work the cradle of the representative institutions floating in a sea agitated by storms. Such a durable and exclusive success, which defied all other historical attempts, at length aroused an opponent in Bilderdijk. The Dutch poet began in 1811 a "National History," whose publication the suspicious police of the Emperor, probably acting in accordance with the old magistrates of Amsterdam, impeded. Bilderdijk, disgusted by these obstacles, abandoned his work for some years, but returned to it at a later date in the shape of lectures. He had formed among the students of Leyden University a species of historic school, whence issued Mr. Groen Van Prinsterer, now record keeper to the House of Orange. Bilderdijk collected these lectures, and in 1832 handed his remodelled work to the venerable Professor Tydeman, whom I visited at Leyden. Mr. Tydeman did not begin the publication of this history till after the

author's death; and added to it learned notes and explanations, the whole book forming thirteen volumes. The manner in which Bilderdijk regards and presents facts recounted before him by Wagenaar, ruffled received opinions, and two schools were formed, one of which continued to support Wagenaar's authority, the other declaring itself for Bilderdijk. Professor Siegenbeek constituted himself the defender of the old "defamed" historian: voices were raised in the opposite camp, and the contest still goes on with extreme ardour, for the publication of Bilderdijk's work was completed not so very long ago.

We must say a word about the historian's opinions in order to explain the literary tumult to which this discussion gave rise. Bilderdijk was ultra-monarchical: his ideal was the old feudal State such as it existed in the Netherlands under the counts, *de facto* if not absolute sovereigns. These ideas are predominant in his book; and hence springs a systematic spirit of blackening Oldenbarneveldt, the brothers De Witt, and all the statesmen who struggled against the Stathouderate. Bilderdijk had been proscribed by the parties opposed to the Stathouder, and religious or political animosities were very powerful in the poet's heart. In no other way can we explain these bitter diatribes, and the militant and dogmatic tone, which sectarians may assume, but which are so unfitted

for the historian. A perusal of these pages, which are sometimes eloquent, produces a painful feeling: for my part, I regret to see a distinguished, though chimerical mind, arbitrarily wandering in dreams of the past, and seeking amid ruins, and sometimes even in the darkness of ignorance, the type of a society which was given up as worthless so far back as the sixteenth century. Such as it is, Bilderdijk's work must be consulted by everybody who wishes to initiate himself in the annals of the Netherlands, and he rendered a great service by producing historic criticism. Wagenaar's exclusive admiration had set up bounds against any examination of facts or spirit of curiosity, and these could only be overthrown, as Mr. Groen van Prinsterer says, "by declaring war to the knife against that stereotyped history which had taken possession of minds." Thanks to the publication of numerous documents, the historical horizon has been enlarged since then. The vast field of the archives has been cleared, and special histories and biographies have been written, and were a modern Hoofdt to spring up, the Netherlands would have no reason to envy the other European nations, as far as history is concerned.

This history is interesting, for more than one reason, but especially as pointing out the cradle of representative institutions. Next to the means

through which the United Provinces regained their independence, nothing is more worthy attention than the wisdom and energy developed by them in maintaining their reconquered liberty. The ancients believed that fortune did not resist audacity; but the modern Batavians showed that it yielded before all to perseverance. They employed the tranquillity procured them by a state of peace (diversified now and then by glorious wars) in founding the power of labour and the prosperity of trade. Dutch navigation at that time acquired a development, traces of which may be found at both extremities of the globe. The ships, those travelling houses, saluted as they passed, other houses rooted in the ground, the fixed abode of man, who is himself divided between the labours of the soil and those of trade. At the bottom, there is a certain resemblance between the character of the Dutch nation and that which the middle classes of France displayed in the revolution of '89; both, though at lengthened intervals of time, liberated their political institutions from the wants of trade and the rights of human activity. Economy, foresight, respect for material interests, so far as they are legitimate, and all the social virtues, elevated to the condition of a social religion—such are the elements by the aid of which the Government of the United Provinces was constituted in a corner of the earth. At a period

when all Europe still lay under the empire of military institutions, the Republic of Cheese Merchants, as they were contemptuously called at the court of Louis XIV., revealed what solid grandeur and dignity there was in a free state which ensured every man the property of his works. A representative government is difficult to produce, and hence the education of political morals in Holland was slow and laborious, and more than once interrupted by catastrophes. The sentiment of nationality, a valiant faith in the principles to which the republic owed its birth and prodigious success, a love of independence that was able to set bounds to duty—all these practical qualities sustained the Republic of the United Provinces in the rude trials it had to go through.*

* The connecting link between the political institutions and commercial prosperity of Holland did not escape the notice of Swedenborg. Like all the freethinking and eccentric men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he several times sought an asylum in the Netherlands. Happening to be at Rotterdam during a *kermesse*, he solemnly observed the amusements of the people, the mountebanks and shows. All this inspired him with the following reflections, "I will seek the causes by which a nation so coarse as the Dutch, has raised its commerce above all other nations, and made its provinces the markets of Europe. The first cause is, that Holland is a Republic, a form of Government more agreeable to God than an absolute monarchy. The second, that Holland enjoys great liberty. You do not find slaves here: all the Dutch are masters, all regard themselves as the equals of princes and emperors, and display this character in their demeanour." Then he adds, "but they adore

Hoofdt, Wagenaar, and Bilderdijk are the three principal historians of Holland, but we have still to mention a few more works of more or less recent date, worthy of attention. A few years before the publication of Bilderdijk's work the government had offered a prize for the following subject, "On the best method of writing the national history," and several learned men, such as Messrs. Royaards, Scheltema, Jonoe, and Groen van Prinsterer responded to the appeal; but the plan of writing an official history was not carried out. The wish of the government, at any rate, seconded the regeneration of historic studies in Holland. Mr. Groen van Prinsterer has published "Manual of National History," written in a systematic spirit, but distinguished by eminent qualities. Professor Arend, who died recently, had begun a general history of the country, which has been completed by Mr. Van Ree; while Professor Visscher, of Utrecht, has attacked the ungrateful field of bibliography. Mr. Knoop, an officer and writer, opened up the path of military history, in which he has been followed by Messrs. Sypesteyn, De Bordes, Netscher, and some others; while Mr. Bosscha, professor at Amsterdam, recently finished a work called "The Military Annals of the Nether-

Mammon, and this worship of gold is incompatible with lengthened and real prosperity." It was, in fact, the worship of material interests that led to the decline of the power of the Netherlands.

lands." Dr. Backhuysen; Mr. De Jonge, Dr. Nyhoff, keeper of the records of Gelderland, and Messrs. Halbertsma, De Vries, and Scheltema, jun., have spread fresh light over certain obscure portions of the annals of Holland. During the last half of the preceding century, the history of the public law and diplomacy had found skilful interpreters. Professor Kluit wrote a "History of the Dutch Constitution," while Baron De Spaan, who was well versed in mediæval history, published at a late date, his "Introduction to the History of Gelderland." Very recently Professor Vreede brought out a "History of the Diplomacy of the Netherlands." The history of the Reformation has been, before all, the subject of commendable works; but how could it be otherwise? for the Netherlands extracted from the religious dogma a portion of their political institutions.

Though Holland has possessed historians, the philosophy of history has hitherto found but few representatives. This gap probably results from the nature of the Dutch genius, which is more inclined to recount facts than seek causes. Still, it would not be a departure from the practical character, to go back to the sources of events that have successively reduced the importance of this nation, which was formerly preponderating on the seas and in the councils of Europe. Decadence! —I will not give a bitter significance to this word,

for more than one great state might envy the tranquillity, wealth, and true liberty which the Netherlands enjoy beneath the shade of their tutelary institutions. Still all honest Dutchmen are ready to allow that Holland is no longer what she was in the 17th century. The causes that have produced this declension are numerous, but it will be sufficient for my purpose to point out one, and I will take it from the moral order. The Calvinist Reformation communicated to the Netherlands an immense expansive movement, and the United Provinces were indebted to this religious influence—the soul of political enfranchisement—for a part of their boldness on the seas, and their marvellous powers of resistance to the coalition of foreign armies. Since that period Protestantism has ceased to be militant; and if a long state of repose may not have stripped the national creed of its energy, it has, at any rate, diminished its impulsive force. The Netherlands have not been able to find a new source of heroic inspiration in a different order of ideas: reduced to a merely passive part amid the convulsions that upheaved society towards the close of the 18th century, and which restored the powers of some states, Holland was compelled to undergo a revolution she had not made. In order that nations may resist foreign influences, they must be happy at home, and enjoy free, solid, and spon-

taneous institutions, whose flexible and natural play agrees with their manners. Holland combined these rare advantages; hence, while she accepted some conquests of the French Revolution, she defied the imperial system annihilating her nationality. To this her actions were restricted in the great historic drama that opened the 19th century; isolated from the movement of sympathy or resistance that agitated all Europe at that day, traversed by French armies, and patiently awaiting salvation, from events, she silently saw her maritime commerce decline. After the disasters of Moscow and Waterloo, peace re-established, simultaneously with the Dutch nationality, those branches of industry and labour which war had not mortally wounded. Under a new constitution, which allowed the influence of the people in State affairs, Holland was able still to live and prosper, but not to regain her ancient splendour. The defection of Belgium in 1830 deprived her of the advantages which the treaties of 1815 had promised her, only leaving her liberty—the sole political grandeur that can still augment the importance of the lesser States.

CHAPTER XIV.

FLOATING VILLAGES—DE RUYTER—A GLORIOUS DEATH—DUTCH TRADE—THE EAST INDIA COMPANY—OPPOSITION OF THE SPANIARDS—THE COMMERCE OF THE EAST—THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—THE WEST INDIA COMPANY—THE SPIDER OF THE SEAS—THE WARS OF THE EMPIRE—NEW PROSPECTS—SLAVERY—A RIVAL TO UNCLE TOM'S CABIN—MR. VAN HOEVELL—SURINAM MAROON SLAVES—PUNISHMENT RECORDS—ABOLITION OF SLAVERY—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

AFTER the political annalists, the maritime chroniclers show us the genius of the Netherlands under one of its most glorious aspects, for Holland furnished the history of naval enterprises with one of its brightest pages during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The art of navigation and maritime strategy can only be developed in a country under a combination of geographical circumstances and moral dispositions, which the force of events reveals, but does not engender. The exceptional constitution of the Netherlands, the habits of the citizens, and their mode of life, here claim the attention of the historian.

I visited in North Holland, at a little distance

from Amsterdam, villages on the water: it would be difficult for me to give another name to groups of fifteen, twenty, or thirty boats surmounted by wooden cabins, in which families of five or six persons reside. These villages change their site at times, and the inhabitants, who are fishermen and their wives, follow, like certain nomadic tribes, their vagabond humour, as they are always certain of finding a livelihood in the water. It is curious to see in these floating houses the chimney, made of a plate of iron, the windows adorned with curtains and the beds in the shape of a drawer. When tired of their floating existence, they are free to pull the boat ashore, and I came across, during my walks in the vicinity of the Hague, on the banks of a canal that runs to Delft, one of these boats, stranded and converted into a fixed residence. An aged woman lives there in the carcase of an old boat, surmounted by a hovel formed of planks, the whole being covered by a tarpaulin which acts as a roof, and which defends the interior of the house from the rain. There are two rooms, one called the bed-room, containing two beds; and another apartment, in which a handsome cheffonier supports Bohemian glass, Japan porcelain cups, and a number of Chinese articles which many a collector might envy. By the side of the boat, now converted into a hut, is the poultry yard, about which a few fowls promenade and

cackle. A portion of the ground, cultivated as a garden, and surrounded by a quickset hedge, supplies fruits, vegetables, and roots for the winter stock. A few yards further on is another boat, inhabited by a family that has also cleared a strip of land; but, doubtless, distrusting its vagabond humour, has declined to draw its dwelling out of the water, and its floating Penates are merely fastened to the canal bank by a rope. Boats that become houses and houses that are converted into boats again, should it be found necessary, constitute an order of facts only to be met with in Holland; and such matters have exerted some influence over the maritime fortunes of the Netherlands. Hence Dutch literature has only been the expression of the popular feeling, by celebrating the exploits of Dutch sailors and their relations with the most remote nations. Antonides von der Goes wrote a poem on the Grief of the Y, in which Ataliba, the genius of the Peruvians, appears summoning the Dutch to the waters of the tropics, and asking them to avenge the nations crushed by the tyranny of the Spaniards. This episode distantly reminds us of the Adamastor of Camoens.

When we consider in how short a time, and under what difficult circumstances, this maritime power was raised, we know not whether to admire most, the enterprising character of the Dutch, or the geographical position of the Netherlands formed

by the waters. Toward the close of the sixteenth century, that is to say, a few years after the national independence, Dutch ships already covered the entire surface of the sea. Grotius asserts that at this period the Netherlands had more than 70,000 men engaged in navigation, and the same writer adds, that the navy of this little corner of the earth was in no way inferior to that of any great Power, and that 2,000 sea-going vessels were annually built, of course exclusive of boats. In the same year, the Netherlands had as many as 400 vessels employed in the Cadiz and Lisbon trade; while in 1593, eighty ships started for the Indies and America.

The history of the Dutch navy has been written by Mr. De Jonge; but the traces of this maritime history must not be sought solely in books, for living memorials are found at each step taken on the soil of the Netherlands. While walking about the quay of Rotterdam, I came across the small house of the great De Ruyter. Born of poor and obscure parentage, the admiral did not blush at his origin; he spoke of it, on the contrary, before the most considerable persons of the period, and offered his example to sailors as a motive for emulation. While a child, he was sent to sea as a cabin-boy. Ruyter retained throughout life the manner and mode of living of a modest citizen, and some amusing anecdotes are told about this simplicity, which was natural in him. The Comte

de Guiche tells us that, going one morning on board the admiral's ship, after the battle of the Four days in 1666, he found him sweeping his own cabin and feeding his fowls, and such a character was of course incorruptible. He several times refused invitations made him to visit foreign courts. His personal greatness, his victories, and the immense services he had rendered his country, could not protect him, however, from the violence of the political movements excited in the Netherlands by the great duel between the executive power and the States-General. After the massacre of the brothers De Witt, the house which sheltered at Amsterdam the most skilful sailor of his age, the man who in four days, as was said at that time, had four times saved his country,—this house, I say, was assailed by a furious mob. The only accusation that could be brought against him was his attachment to the De Witts; but, had it not been for the firmness and courage of the captain of the civic guard, the admiral's house would have been sacked. A short distance from the humble habitation where De Ruyter sojourned is the tomb he now occupies in the new church (*Nieuwe Kerk*). The circumstances of his death will bear repeating. De Ruyter had been ordered to the Mediterranean with a fleet of eighteen ships, where he was waited for by an enemy whose forces consisted of thirty vessels. In vain did the Dutch admiral try to

persuade his employers that it would be an act of temerity to expose the flag of the States thus to the insults of a foreigner, through a spirit of bravado. The only reply he received to his remonstrances was a strange imputation; the officers tried to insinuate that the admiral was growing timid with years. Vainly too did his friends try to persuade him that the interests of glory and of his country prohibited his putting to sea with such unequal forces. "My duty," he answered, "is to obey the orders of the States." Then, after bidding a final farewell to his family and friends, and after himself expressing his opinion that he should never return, he set out. The admiral embarked at Helvoetsluys; a fair breeze bowled him along, and he encountered, between the islands of Stromboli and Salino, the French fleet under the command of Duquesne. The two fleets fought a first battle, which had no result; and, after effecting his junction with ten Spanish ships wretchedly equipped, Ruyter sought a second engagement off the coast of Sicily. Almost at the beginning of the action, De Ruyter was struck by a cannon-ball, which carried away a part of his left foot, and broke two bones in his right leg. He continued to give his orders with an activity which nothing could relax, and so thoroughly concealed the grave nature of his wound that no one, either friend or foe, conceived

the least suspicion of the disaster that was about to befall the Dutch fleet. The narratives which the witnesses and actors in this great naval battle have left us differ greatly, for each side claims the victory. At any rate, the most terrible and fully proved defeat would not have been to the Dutch a calamity equal to the loss of their admiral. De Ruyter sunk under his wounds a few days later at the age of sixty-nine, and a monument was erected to him, at the national cost, in the choir of the new church of Amsterdam. A Latin inscription recalls his title to the eternal gratitude of the Dutch,—his combats in the Ocean and the Mediterranean, his enterprises along the Atlantic coast where he repressed the insolence of the pirates, his victories which no reverses had ever obscured, and his death, grand as his life. I will only quote from this inscription, which is too long and too pompous for a great man, the final sentence, *Immensi tremor Oceani.*

The life and glorious actions of Dutch sailors occupy a considerable space in the history of the Netherlands; but the historian is before all bound to seek the origin of the institutions that raised the maritime fortunes of the Low Countries to such a degree of splendour. In the first rank of these stands the East India Company, though before this company was called into existence the merchant ships of Holland performed long voyages.

A famine having broken out in Italy, they bore to the coast of that peninsula grain bought on the shores of the Baltic; but, as the natural fertility of the Italian soil was re-established within a few years, this branch of trade broke down. The sailors of Holland and Zealand then sought another market where they could exercise their industry; and about this time, Cornelius Houtman of Gouda, who had lived for several years at Lisbon, and had a disturbance with the Inquisition, returned to Amsterdam. There he enthusiastically boasted of the profit the Dutch trade could make of the new relations opened up by the English and Portuguese with the Indian islands. His observations induced nine merchants of Amsterdam to form themselves into a society for the establishment of trade with the Eastern nations, and they equipped at their own expense four ships, equally suited for fighting or conveying merchandise. On April 2, 1595, these four ships sailed from the Texel, and reached the Cape of Good Hope on August 2; but, being detained by contrary winds and retarded by disputes that broke out among the crews, they did not reach Java till the June of the following year. Here they had to contend against the opposition of a company of Portuguese merchants, established at Bantam, the capital of the island, who made the Indian chief rich presents to induce him to prohibit all traffic between the new comers

and the inhabitants of this island, They even aroused the suspicions of the natives to such a violent pitch that the Dutch ships were attacked, and lost several men in the engagement. Leaving Java after this, these vessels proceeded to Bali, where they obtained a better reception, and procured, at a low price, an abundant cargo of spices. One of the ships, the *Amsterdam*, had suffered so severely that it was thought advisable to break her up; and the other three vessels, after a voyage lasting more than two years, re-entered Amsterdam port in 1597, loaded with pepper, nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, and ginger. Their arrival was greeted with a popular festival, but many of the sailors were missing at it. Of 250 men who started in the Indian expedition, only ninety returned to their country; the rest had died on the way of diseases, privations, and moral torture. From the expedition of 1595 the trade between the United Provinces and the East Indies became constantly more developed, in spite of the disasters and losses occasioned from time to time by the combined hostility of the natives and the Portuguese. Soon, however, the commanders of the Dutch ships began effectually to combat the effect produced on the mind of the Indians by the false reports the Spaniards and Portuguese had spread about them. They made alliances with the inhabitants of the island of Banda, and with the kings of Ternate

and Candy in Ceylon. As the king of Achem had hitherto shown himself the most untractable enemy of the Dutch, the captain of a Zealand vessel advised him to send two ambassadors to the United Provinces, in order to assure himself that the Dutch were not as the Spaniards and Portuguese represented them to be, and the king was persuaded into it. One of these envoys died on his arrival in the Netherlands, and was interred with much pomp at Middelburg; while the other visited Prince Maurice at his camp, where he was received with extreme magnificence. A treaty of alliance and commerce was completed between the King of Achem and the Prince on behalf of the States; and the ambassador, on his return home, filled the whole country with the narration of his travelling impressions. He let no opportunity slip to combat the absurd fables which the egotistic interests of the Spaniards and Portuguese had led them to spread about the Dutch. For his part, he spoke with profound esteem of the excellence of the nation he had seen, the wealth and integrity of the Netherlands' merchants, and the power of the growing navy. Under the influence of these favourable conjunctures, companies were established in several towns of Holland and Zealand; but they soon found that they very innocently injured one another. Several vessels on their arrival at the East India islands found the market

already occupied, and the competition of buyers led the Indian dealers to raise the price of spices. On the other hand, the great quantity of merchandise which the Dutch vessels brought simultaneously to the Netherlands, being neither directed by a single brain, or distributed by a guiding hand, produced a glut at various points. These considerations determined the States to collect all these scattered, isolated, and incoherent companies into a single East India Company. This famous institution was founded in 1602, and was to the Netherlands the source of immense wealth and also of incessant jealousy on the part of other nations. The East India Company, originally formed for twenty-one years, obtained the exclusive privilege of trading to the east of the Cape of Good Hope and the west of the Straits of Magellan. The capital of the Company amounted to 6,600,000 florins, half of which sum was found by Amsterdam, one-fourth by Zealand, and the remainder by Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen.

No sooner was the company founded than it formed alliances with the rulers of India, allowing the directors to build forts and place Dutch governors in the interior of the isles. As the natives would not have understood what was meant by a republic, the alliances were generally concluded in the name of the statholder. One of the immediate

advantages the establishment of the East India Company produced, was the concentration of the naval forces of the Netherlands. The Dutch nation was thus placed in a position to repulse the attacks of the King of Spain, who for some time had been collecting all his strength to arrest the progress of Dutch trade in the Indies. Hardly a year elapsed that the Dutch merchantmen did not encounter Spanish ships in the eastern waters, and the results were serious and obstinate actions, in which the advantage most frequently remained with the Dutch sailors.

The Company, resolved to put a stop to this violence, equipped a fleet of fourteen well-armed vessels, of which Wybrand van Warwyk was appointed admiral. Wybrand remained nearly four years on those seas, when he re-established security; and in 1606 he discovered the island to which he gave the name of Mauritius.

In a few years the India Company attained a flourishing position; it enjoyed absolute authority in the Indies. It nominated its own governor-general, its magistrates, admirals, and all the officers of the land and sea forces, who, however, took oath of allegiance to the States. It declared war and peace; it received the ambassadors of kings who wished to treat with it, and sent its representatives to them. It compelled several small princes to surrender their possessions and

become tributaries of the Company. It built forts and towns, and founded colonies wherever it judged them useful for its interests. It had in its pay a considerable number of regular troops, and an innumerable quantity of ships, which covered the Indian seas, or returned to Holland laden with the riches of the entire east. This sovereign prosperity excited the jealousy of the English India Company, and the Dutch Company in its turn accused Great Britain of arousing feelings of hostility among the natives, and even supplying them with arms and ammunition to attack the Dutch sailors. In 1615, Grotius attempted to settle some differences that had sprung up between the two companies, and the negotiations were still pending, when the Dutch, animated by a feeling of distrust, laid the foundations of the city of Batavia, in Java, which soon became the centre of their trade. Mistress of the islands of Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Malacca, Ceylon, Macassar, and of the Cape of Good Hope, the Dutch company held in one hand, as a poet says, the urn of the seas, and in the other a cornucopia, from which fruits and spices escaped. Before the Dutch took possession of the Cape of Good Hope the land there was condemned to sterility; but no sooner was this industrious people established at the extremity of Africa, than the soil produced wheat, a quantity of excellent fruits, introduced from the four

quarters of the globe, and wines of different qualities. The memory of Van Riebeek, the founder of this important colony, is still held in great honour.

The Dutch East India Company had country along the whole of the Coromandel coast, where it held the town of Negapatnam and the fortress of Geldern ; on the Malabar coast it commanded at Cochin, Cannanore, and Coula, It carried on a large trade with Mocha, Gameron, Surat, Bengal, Japan, China, Tonquin, Sumatra, and Borneo. It carried spices to Mocha, for which the Arabs have a great demand, and brought back frankincense, myrrh, gums, cassia, balm, aloes, coffee, and other merchandise. Its vessels also visited other ports of Arabia, for instance, Aden, Muscat, and Bussorah. The trade of the Dutch extended to Ispahan ; the Company paid the King of Persia no import or export dues, but was bound to convey annually to Gameron, a town situated on the Persian Gulf, a certain quantity of bales of silk at a regulated price. It obtained from Persia gold and silver tissues, carpets of incomparable beauty, as well as Caramanian wool, stuffs, pearls, and turquoises. The kingdom of Pegu furnished it with lac, gold, silver, rubies, and sapphires. It had a counter where it kept a few clerks, and obtained from that country an abundance of rice, elephants' tusks, tin, lead, precious woods, deer-

skins, gold, and precious stones. A commercial treaty concluded with Japan assured it the exclusive trade with that empire. The Company made very advantageous exchanges with China; it brought back from that country silk, calicoes, hemp, splendid marble, tea, sugar, musk, and works of art. When we embrace at a glance this vast commercial movement—when we figure to ourselves these vessels conveying to the extreme east the marvels of European industry, and bringing back all the riches of nature, and say to ourselves that this incommensurable prosperity issued from a marsh, a poor fishing village (for such Amsterdam was originally), we form a grand idea of this small navigating people, which, strong in its institutions and liberty, was able to stretch forth its hand over every sea and every land. An English traveller who visited the Netherlands at the beginning of the 17th century, sums up his observations thus:—"I have seen a people whose limited and inundated territory only produces grass naturally, but which, by its industry, has managed to acquire the fruits of the whole world in abundance."

By the side of the East India Company flourished the West Indian. The establishment of this institution only dates back to 1621; it was dissolved in 1674, and re-established on Sept. 20 of the same year, by licence of the

States-General. This company turned its attention to the new world, and some sheaves of the rich harvest which the discoveries of navigation had caused to spring up as if by enchantment in the solitude of the Atlantic, fell into the hands of the bold Dutch sailors. The chief colonies the West India Company possessed were—Surinam, Curaçao, Aruba, and Buenos Ayres. The states of Zealand, to which the colony of Surinam originally belonged, transferred it to the new company, which, not being in a position to send thither all the assistance necessary, surrendered one-third to the magistrates of Amsterdam, and another third to M. d'Aarsen, seigneur of Sommelsdyk. The productions of this colony were sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, and indigo.

In addition to its establishments in America, the West India Company possessed a few others in Africa. Near Cape Verd, on the small island of Goree, the forts of Goor and Nassau were of great importance to it, to protect the Cape trade. On the Gold coast it held St. George de las Minas and Nassau, together with Forts Achem, Darmbo, Acaro, Sanca, and Benden. This company traded with the natives from the Gold coast as far as the region of the Kaffirs, in the kingdoms of Aden, Benin, Congo, and Angola. The chief merchandise it drew from these regions consisted of gold, ivory, leather, gums, rice, and, we are compelled to

add—slaves. The company allowed no other persons to trade on the African coast; but, on the other hand, made hardly any expeditions to America on its own account: it authorised the whole world to trade with the West Indies, provided that certain dues were paid it, but all ships, without exception, were obliged to carry their back cargo to Holland. The direction was divided between five chambers, whose administration was intrusted to fifty-seven directors. The Spaniards called Holland the "spider of the seas," and the metaphor is correct, if the meaning is that with a very small body it touched with its legs all parts of the globe. This vast network of maritime relations, moreover, did not profit trade alone; for, from 1616 to 1626, the Dutch discovered the whole of the country known by the name of New Holland. Carpenter's Land to the south of New Guinea, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand, were also drawn from the obscurity of the seas by the hand of these indefatigable navigators; and the names of the governors-general Koen, Maetsuycker, Van Diemen, and Sinhoff, are specially connected with this great history of conquests and discoveries.

Most of the colonies and establishments of the Netherlands were torn from them by the English during the wars of the empire; but the powerful East India Company had been shipwrecked before

the fall of the Republic of the United Provinces. After realising immense profits, and paying, in 1660, annual dividends amounting to 40, and even 60 per cent., this colossal institution ended by leaving its affairs greatly embarrassed, and the States-General was called upon to settle them. A portion of the colonial possessions which had been torn from the Netherlands during the war, was restored by the treaties of 1815; and what is left, though not very considerable when compared with the old conquests, is still of importance, and may become the source of great commercial and financial prosperity. In 1824, the "Trading Company of the Netherlands" was founded for traffic with the East Indies: the general direction, first established at the Hague, was afterwards transferred to Amsterdam, and the capital fixed at twenty-four millions of florins. Agents of the Company were appointed in the different commercial cities of the kingdom, and a chief intendancy was established at Batavia, and sub-intendancies of the Company in other possessions beyond sea. The tea-trade was also organised in Amsterdam and Rotterdam by associations of merchants, known by the name of *pakhuis meesteren*. These directors of the stores took the place of the old India company in this article of trade. The direction of the Dutch colonies, and particularly of Java, now constitutes one of

the most important and delicate branches of the public administration; and it is calculated that the profits annually made from the Dutch Indies are sufficient to pay the interest of the national debt. I do not doubt but that these resources may be increased with the progress of cultivation and a better system of colonisation. The press has latterly bitterly attacked the entire Dutch foreign system, and especially the exceptional laws that govern the inhabitants of Java. I will not enter into this discussion, for a visit to the spot would be necessary before indicating the reforms it would be proper to introduce: but the testimony of Dutchmen who have lived in the Indies leads us to believe that the condition of the colony may be improved in many respects.

An old ulcer unfortunately afflicts those possessions of Holland known by the name of the West Indies, and that is slavery. Very few Dutch statesmen defend on principle an institution which is contrary to the spirit of Christianity; but some of them urged economic considerations to defer the abolition of slavery. This question has several times been the cause of stormy debates in the States-General, which were prolonged in the daily papers. Matters were in this state when a book was published in the Netherlands, under the title of *Slaven en Vrijen onder de Nederlandsche Wet*, which for the effect and excitement it produced,

if not for style, can only be compared with "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The author is M. Von Hoevell, an ex-protestant minister, and now member of the States-General. His honourable character, his name already known in Dutch literature, and his long connection with the foreign population, all gave his book the stamp of authenticity. The engravings, added to the text, were of a nature to arouse horror, pity, indignation—all the energetic feelings of the human heart. Hence the emotion was deep and extensive, and the book went through three real editions in the course of a year, which is a rare success in Holland.

Doctor Von Hoevell selected as the scene of his observations, the island of Surinam, one of the Dutch possessions. His book is neither a romance, nor a history, nor a travelling diary; it is an inquiry. A number of testimonies, narrations, and episodes, from which he states that he had carefully excised any literary fiction, are the documents by which the author puts slavery on its trial with a sorrowful resignation.

The colony of Surinam or Dutch Guiana, is one of the finest countries in the world. M. Von Hoevell describes with enthusiasm and lovingly this opulent and blessed nature, the fragrant savannahs, the woods of palm trees, tamarinds, orange trees, cactus and bananas, and the lakes overshadowed by lianas with their trailing flowers. To

some districts the Dutch genius has transferred its favourite occupations and habits. Several colonists have settled in preference on marshy regions, where they have continued the traditions of their absent country by suspending streams between gigantic dykes, by digging canals, by subjecting streams to their mode of locomotion, and by rectifying the course of rivers, and compelling these elements of disorder and destruction to become a source of abundance, movement and agricultural futility. In the midst of this luxuriant landscape where everything grows, prospers, sings, lives and is radiant, one being suffers—man. We soon perceive that the author wished to bring out in strong relief the bitter contrast between the kindness of nature and the misery slavery engenders. The slave or half-breed population is about 40,000 souls; the Ethiopian race opposes to the murderous laws of slavery its fertility, its gentleness, its careless and merry character; but for all that it has decreased in Surinam since the abolition of the slave-trade. M. Von Hoevell refutes the opinion sustained by some travellers, that the negro accepts slavery, that he conceives nothing beyond it, and that liberty actually frightens him—and refutes this opinion by facts.

A number of blacks, transplanted from the coasts of Africa to the plantations of Surinam, had the courage to fly from the authority of their

masters. One after the other they entered the forest, formed villages there, and gradually cultivated the soil. The fruits of this cultivation, joined to the produce of shooting and fishing, insured them a bare but independent existence. The example was contagious, and the desertions increased in number. The negroes liberated by flight, feeling themselves in their turn the stronger, were soon no longer contented with the selfish repose the solitudes of the New World offered them. They entered into relations with their brethren still in slavery, made vigorous incursions into the estates they had left, and carried the slaves off with them to their impenetrable lairs. The Dutch Government thought it advisable to interfere; and a long, ruinous, almost useless, war was begun. Having discovered some of their villages between the Saramacca and Surinam, the Dutch destroyed them. But the campaign was a dear one: and the negroes, driven further into the wilds, returned to their habitations so soon as the troops were withdrawn. The authorities then resigned themselves to negotiation. By a solemn agreement, the Dutch Government surrendered to the Maroon slaves the interior and uninhabited part of the country; it granted them permission to come into Paramaraibo and trade in parties; and pledged itself to supply them every four years with gifts of gunpowder, arms, canvas, and knives.

Since the declaration of their independence, the ex-slaves have formed three distinct tribes, each of which obeys a Chief, or *granam*, who wears a military uniform, and carries a gold-headed stick bearing the arms of the Netherlands. The number of free negroes is estimated at 8000; and they are distinguished from the plantation negroes by a more robust constitution. In their villages they generally go about naked, with merely a girdle fastened round the waist; but when they visit Paramaraibo, they wear short cotton jackets. The life of these negroes is entirely primitive; and the little cultivation found in their villages is generally the work of the women; but the males are excellent wood-cutters and bold hunters. The Dutch Government gives them a bounty of four florins for each cougouar skin they deliver at Paramaraibo, and this money is expended in purchasing guns, lead, gunpowder, bricks, axes, and clothes. M. van Hoevell attributes the social infancy of these negroes to the hard and difficult circumstances that surround them, to their solitary life, but, before all, to the prejudice prevailing in this country with reference to agricultural labour, which is regarded as the lowest stage of degradation. "As the idea of agricultural toil," he says, "bears with it an idea of slavery, it is natural that the negro should avoid it as the shadow of a past which he detests." The germ of

social improvement and development is repressed in negroes reduced to so miserable a condition, but the author does not doubt the existence of the germ, and facts confirm his opinion. In 1852, the forest negroes brought down the rivers building wood which produced 100,000 florins; and hence a taste for free labour, the generating element of civilisation, is not extinct among these ex-slaves.

For a long time the Surinam Blacks were left at the mercy of their masters, but in 1851 the Dutch Government adopted regulations which testified some degree of solicitude about the fate of the black population. M. van Hoevell does not deny that praiseworthy motives dictated this act of relative humanity; but he tries to prove that such rules are impotent, ineffective, and most frequently evaded by the owners of plantations. The legislature, moreover, authorises corporal punishment without any control, and M. van Hoevell lays before us the system of punishment or "red book" of slavery. It is simply and concisely drawn up: the number, the name of the owner, that of the slave, his age, the amount of lashes, and the fault—that is all. Nearly always the motive of the punishment is indicated by the single word "neglect," "brutality," or "obstinacy." Cases of theft are extremely rare; and are confined to objects of small value, generally fruit and

bananas. According to this register, from January 1 to December 31, 1851, five hundred slaves, men, women, girls, boys, negroes, mulattoes, and quadroons, were flogged in Paramaraibo jail by the agents of the Dutch Government at the request of their owners. This jail, in which, according to law, slaves are chastised by the hangman, himself a slave, is surrounded by sinister objects: iron-collars, thongs, and a hideous hinged table employed as a scaffold for slaves sentenced to capital punishment. The whips are black with blood. "That is surely not the natural colour of the lash," the writer observed. The hangman smiled, "I wonder what you would say," he remarked, "if you were to see the tamarind rods? that's another matter: under those rods the flesh peals off in strips."

In this Hades of slavery, which the author goes through stage by stage, with the courage of a moralist, he leads us from punishment to punishment. I will not follow him along this *via dolorosa*, for the greatest fault that can be charged against his book is the monotony of the horrible and the revolting. It is true that this fault, if it be a fault in the artistic sense, may be cast upon the very nature of the subject. In order to defend himself from an accusation of exaggeration, M. van Hoevell haughtily challenges the partisans of slavery to obtain, by an official inquiry, the testimony of the

persons who supplied the elements of his work—and this challenge has not been accepted.

The rules of the colony lay down that slave children cannot be separated from their mothers, and this is an improvement on the United States system. M. van Hoevell, however, describes the means employed in Surinam to evade the letter of the law. Then, again, if the black child has a mother, it is not supposed to have a father; and nature protests against the semi-negation of family. On the plantations negroes have been reduced to the terrible necessity of flogging their own sons by the master's orders. On other occasions this anonymous paternity, without rights or duties, revolts at its own risk and peril against certain transactions which morality condemns. An old negro was confined in a garret: exposed to the vertical beams of a tropical sun, suffering from all the agonies of hunger and thirst, and mad with grief and despair, he blew out his brains. This old man was a father, and would not consent to the dishonour of his daughter.

M. van Hoevell has extracted from the gloomy annals of the Dutch West Indies many other touching and dramatic pages. His book has done more for the cause of abolition than any philosophical reasoning can do; it has created a sensation, and it appeals to the heart and conscience. Although M. van Hoevell proves that slavery is a

bad institution, even from an economic point of view, the enfranchisement of the slaves in the Dutch colonies may still be retarded for some years through considerations of material interest, but public opinion in Holland demands a state of things more in conformity with morality and humanity.

The history of slavery in the Dutch colonies is attached to that of the mother country, and we could not pass it by in silence; this fiendish institution is no doubt to be condemned, but a few blemishes, which time will certainly efface, could not destroy a collection of imposing efforts. In their external relations, as well as in their political life, the Netherlands offer us a very grand series of ideas, facts, instruction, and examples, which deserve collection. A little nation, daughter of its own works, which precedes nearly all the great states of Europe and the new world in the practice of liberty; which takes possession of seas with a handful of men and vessels; which opens the path of trade through tempests; and lays down at home, in the midst of political agitations, the limits of constitutional law, is not a nation that the historian ought to disdain. What distinguishes it before all is a spirit of intrepid calculation, and a nation endowed with such practical sense necessarily inaugurated, at an early period, the government of the middle classes. In Holland a representative government was no

more extemporised than it was elsewhere; it demanded lengthened study, sacrifices, and struggles, but the good sense of the race triumphed over these obstacles. External and internal events have, during a century, weakened the political *rôle* of Holland, and reduced her commercial prosperity; but she retains, in her constitution and — better still — in her manners, the imperishable germ of a liberty which knows how to hold its own.

Holland lost by the chances of war that which makes peoples great, but she retains that which renders peoples happy. It is desirable that she should persevere on her path; while enlarging the circle of her relations with other European States, while appropriating the progress of foreign nations, she must not abjure her historical traditions, her simple and powerful nationality, or her religious spirit engrafted on the love of the soil and veneration of ancestors. Other modern societies may dazzle by exercising greater preponderance over the destinies of the world; but there is not one in which the influence of wise institutions upon the augmentation of the public fortune is more clearly revealed. After leaving in the past a lengthened track of light, the Netherlands possess at the present moment a moral value, which, during the first fifteen years of this century, contrived to resist the attacks of material

force and the seductions of glory. Though wedged in between the great rival Powers, states of the second rank, like Holland, are not the less necessary, for the sake of maintaining the European balance.

THE END.

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BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 June, 2018